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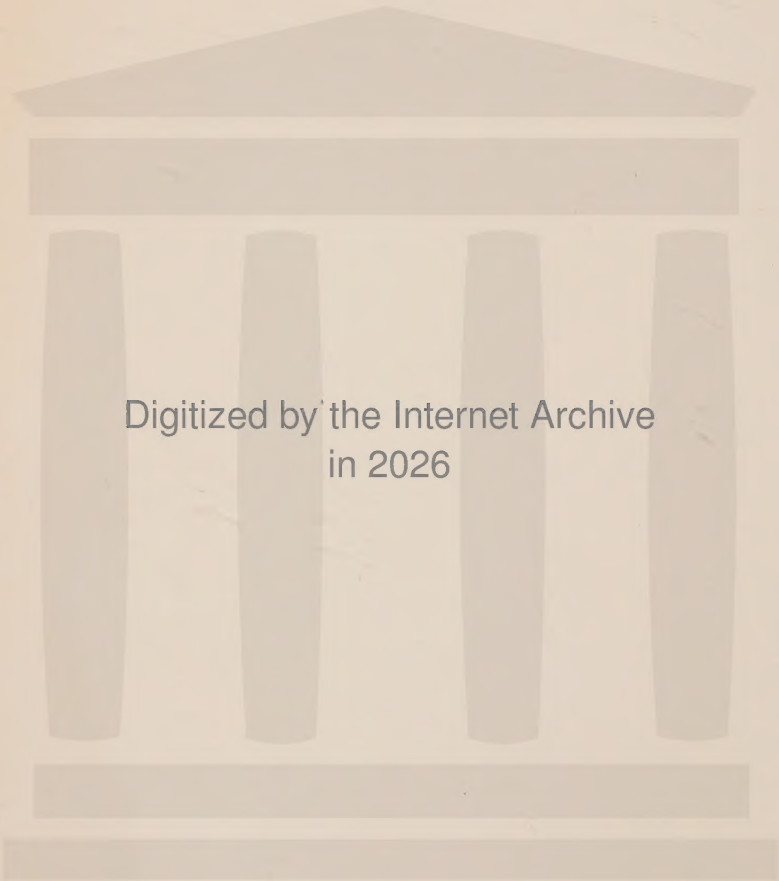
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PESTALOZZI

PESTALOZZI
AND HIS TIMES
A PICTORIAL RECORD

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P43P

EDITED FOR THE CENTENARY
OF HIS DEATH BY THE PESTALOZZIANUM
AND THE ZENTRALBIBLIOTHEK
ZURICH

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FOREWORD

When Zurich prepared, last February, to celebrate the hundreth anniversary of Pestalozzi's death, the memory of a great fellow-citizen was honoured who, in the words of a competent authority, rediscovered the people as such in living and suffering with them, who was the first to conceive the great idea of popular culture, and who, finally, irradiated all his efforts on behalf of the people by a consuming charity and self-sacrifice. Among the arrangements for the celebration was a memorial exhibition, organised by the *Pestalozzianum* and the *Zentralbibliothek* in the premises of the latter. The pictures and manuscripts, printed works and other objects temporarily collected by the organisers gave an impressive general view of Pestalozzi's life and work, and left room only for the regret that the exhibition could not become permanent in this form. In order, however, to unite the most important objects of the exhibition, at least in reproduction, and to make them accessible to the world-wide circle of Pestalozzi's disciples, the *Buchdruckerei Berichthaus*, which has already perpetuated the memory of Zurich events in similar form, decided on the publication of this work.

At the wish of the publishers, a small committee was appointed to consider the composition of the volume, consisting of the undersigned, as President, Professor Dr. H. Stettbacher, Director of the *Pestalozzianum*, as Vice-President, Messrs. Paul Römer and Rudolf Ulrich, of the *Buchdruckerei Berichthaus*, and Dr. Helen Wild, Librarian at the *Zentralbibliothek*, who was responsible for the editing with the help of Dr. E. Dejung. Advice was kindly given by Dr. F. O. Pestalozzi, Dr. A. Corrodi-Sulzer, Dr. L. Forrer and Professor Dr. W. Klinke. The French translation was undertaken by Mademoiselle Jeanne Franel, the English by Mrs. M. D. Hottinger-Mackie, M. A. Cantab.

The exhibition has now a permanent memorial in this volume. May it serve to keep the memory of one of our greatest countrymen green throughout the world.

D. Dr. HERMANN ESCHER
Director of the *Zentralbibliothek*, Zurich.

ZURICH, Winter 1927.

INTRODUCTION

PESTALOZZI

AMONG HIS FRIENDS AND OPPONENTS

INTRODUCTION

BY

PROFESSOR DR. HANS STETTBACHER

Please do
book or turn down

THE SPIRITUAL HERITAGE

In the year 1550, Bernhard von Cham, *Landvogt* of Wädenswil, later Burgomaster of Zurich, sent one of his sons to complete his education at Chiavenna, and received into his house in exchange Johann Anton Pestalozza, then a boy of thirteen. The young citizen of Zurich later returned to his father's house; Johann Anton, on the other hand, stayed in Zurich, married, in 1561, Anna Gessner, granddaughter of Andreas Gessner, Master of the *Zunft zur Saffran*, and obtained the citizenship of the town in 1567. In this way the Pestalozzi family came to Zurich.

Johann Anton Pestalozza's third wife was Magdalena Muralt, the daughter of that Dr. Martin Muralt who had led the Locarno refugees to Zurich. From this third marriage the Zurich branch of the family descended. Thus two towns at the southern foot of the Alps — Chiavenna and Locarno — can claim Pestalozzi as their own. In later times, however, the Pestalozzi family allied itself with a number of the most eminent families of Zurich, and — as the latest research shows — a rich spiritual heritage came to Heinrich Pestalozzi from his native town. In the same line of ancestors as Johann Anton Pestalozza stands Burgomaster Salomon Hirzel (1580—1652), one of the most eminent statesmen of old Zurich. The influence and authority he enjoyed is shown by the fact that he, with six sons and four other near relatives, sat on the *Grosser Rat*. Through his great-grandmother, Dorothea Wolf, Heinrich Pestalozzi is connected with the Wolf and Hottinger families. Among the former, Hans Ulrich Wolf is remarkable for his ability and enterprise. He had studied medicine, carried on a apothecary's business at his house Zum Kranz in the Weinplatz in Zurich, and became proprietor of the Gonzen mines; as Master of the *Zunft zur Saffran*, he sat on the *Kleiner Rat*; as *Landvogt* of Kyburg, as *Statthalter* and *Säckelmeister*, he held the highest offices which Zurich had to bestow outside of the Burgomastership, and the fact that he was entrusted with important ambassadorial functions proves that his fellow-citizens esteemed his political capacity. It might also be mentioned that a very recent genealogical study proves the connection of these ancestors of Pestalozzi with the Carolingians. Pestalozzi's ancestors in the Wolf line were eminent scholars: Hans Jakob Wolf held the chair of Greek at the Carolinum in Zurich, and his son Johann Caspar became Professor of Theology there after having studied at Metz, Groningen and Oxford.

Of Pestalozzi's ancestors in the Hottinger line, mention must be made of Johann Heinrich Hottinger, one of the most famous scholars who ever taught at the Carolinum. After having studied at Geneva and Groningen, and spent some time in England, he returned by way of Paris to Zurich, and there became Professor of Ecclesiastical History, teacher of Oriental languages, and Professor of Rhetoric and Logic. After a short period as Professor and Church Councillor in Heidelberg, he returned to Zurich; he refused calls to Deventer, Marburg and Bremen. He only yielded when a call came from Leyden. He was ready to leave, when, on his way to his estate of Sparenberg, to which he was making his farewell visit, he was drowned in the Limmat with a son and three daughters.

Heinrich Pestalozzi's fate was more affected by the early death of his great-grandfather Hans Heinrich Pestalozzi than might be expected. This ancestor, who, with his brothers, carried on the paternal silk business in Zurich and Bergamo, and married, first Regula Werdmüller, sister of General Felix Werdmüller, and, second, Ursula Holzhalb, daughter of Colonel Holzhalb, seemed to have smoothed the way for his children. In 1701, however, he died, at the early age of fifty-two. The youngest son, Andreas, who at the time of his father's death was eight years old, later took up the study of theology, and thus "without being aware of it, closed to his descendants the career of his forefathers. There were successors enough to carry on the paternal business, and he lacked the patronage necessary to a political career", for Andreas Pestalozzi, the grandfather of the pedagogue, became Pastor of Schwamendingen, a parish dependent upon the Grossmünster, but did not receive the appointment to the Canonicate and to the *Lehramt*, though such appointment was usually easy to obtain from dependent parishes; the acceptance of the parish of Höngg meant a sacrifice for Andreas Pestalozzi.

In 1715, when only twenty-two years old, Andreas Pestalozzi had married Dorothea Ott, daughter of Archdeacon Johann Baptist Ott. With this family, more theologians and professors enter the ranks of Heinrich Pestalozzi's forebears. Among them, Hans Heinrich Ott is specially worthy of notice. He had studied theology in Lausanne and Geneva, and later travelled in France and Holland. In Groningen, he took up the study of Oriental languages. After his return to his native town, he was first employed as Librarian and Recorder, was then promoted to be Professor of Oratory at the Carolinum, later received the chair of Hebrew, and finally became Professor of Ecclesiastical History. Pestalozzi thought he could observe a peculiar resem-

blance between this man's son, Johann Baptist Ott, and himself. "Good-natured and lighthearted like myself" writes Pestalozzi in the *Schwanengesang* "he was, in financial matters, equally incompetent and careless". Like Pestalozzi, he loved good repartee, and was of the opinion that this love of fun had kept him cheerful, and that he had reached his great age because he had taken everything rather too lightly than too seriously. "The resemblance of this man's character with my own seems to me really striking" writes Pestalozzi. In any case, they have a ready wit in common.

While Pestalozzi's grandfather Andreas Pestalozzi had himself experienced difficulties in his career, and had been obliged to give up hope of influential support from highly placed relatives, the situation was still more difficult for the grandson. Pestalozzi's father, Johann Baptist, seems to have received no higher education; his name does not appear on the registers of the Carolinum. He had probably nothing more than a modest course in surgery behind him when, on March 20th, 1741, he passed his examination, and was admitted to the *Zum Schwarzen Garten* society. After this, his profession must have made the most trifling demands on his time; he had plenty left for his hobbies of fishing and hunting, and finally the surgeon found himself obliged to offer his services to the Council of Zurich as clerk in the *Stadtkanzlei*. The letter of application in his pleasant handwriting is still to be found in the archives of Zurich, the only document handed down to us by Pestalozzi's father. The *Gnädige Herren* approved his application, and most graciously granted the admission of "Herrn Johann Baptist Pestaluz" to the *Unterschreiberei*, with two other applicants, as "trusty and industrious subjects". But Pestalozzi the surgeon could only profit by this favour for a brief time; a few months later death overtook him.

The more than modest situation and the early death of his father put difficulties in the way of Heinrich Pestalozzi's advancement. The boy lacked firm paternal guidance, he lacked influential relatives who might have interested themselves in him. What that meant in old Zurich, Pestalozzi must have realised early. The mother had to fall back on the advice of the grandfather in Höngg and of her brother in Richterswil. She herself lived, it appears, in great retirement. She seems to have remained in town after the early death of her husband for the sake of the children.

Through his mother's family, Heinrich Pestalozzi belongs to Zurich *Landschaft*. The Hotz family was at this time rising rapidly. Pestalozzi's grandfather, Jakob Hotz, is entered in the roll of inhabitants of the parish

of Wädenswil as "Barber in Marpurg"; after his return home, he must have made a considerable position for himself as surgeon. This is proved by his marriage with Esther Escher, daughter of the *Landvogt* of Wädenswil. Pestalozzi's mother is the daughter of the third wife of Jakob Hotz, Barbara Haab, whom he married in 1704. Three of her brothers became surgeons. Johannes Hotz, who settled later in Richterswil, and was the wisest counsellor of his sister, completed his knowledge of surgery in the French service, in the German "Royal Bavière" regiment. In 1732 he married Judith Gessner of Zurich. For the second time a Hotz brought home a bride from a town family. A most remarkable sign of respect and confidence is the fact that Johannes Hotz, though an inhabitant of Zurich *Landschaft*, rose to the rank of Captain in the Zurich militia. His sons attained to still greater eminence. Johannes (Konrad) Hotz — who during his student days in Leipzig added an "e" to his name, and thenceforth signed himself "Hotze" — was one of the doctors the most in request of his time, and his brother Konrad Hotz, later Friedrich von Hotze, gave up his medical studies for the army — at which point he added the "von" to his name — served in the armies of Wurtemberg, Russia and Austria and in the last rose to the dignity of Lieutenant Field-Marshal. In 1799 he fell in the battle of Schännis against the French.

In his cousin Johannes Hotze, Heinrich Pestalozzi found a loyal friend and counsellor, who, as his most eminent relative, also supported him in his courtship of Anna Schulthess. Every important decision which had to be taken by Pestalozzi's mother and her children was fully discussed at Richterswil. Heinrich accompanied his uncle and "young Dr. Hotze" on their professional tours to Einsiedeln and Schwyz. As an old man he still used to tell how he thus came to know and love the people of Central Switzerland. In the course of years, Hotze became the confidential physician of the Reding and Hedlinger families in Schwyz, and of the Blumers and Tschudys in Glarus; the Prince Abbot of Einsiedeln was his patient, and he was called in to the convents of Münsterlingen, Wettingen and Frauental. In the days when both he and Lavater were supporting Pestalozzi's suit for the hand of Anna, a strong friendship had grown up between them, which lasted till death. Hotze attended his friend's sermons in Zurich, or had copies sent to him; he took a sympathetic interest in his religious avatars. Lavater, for his part, sought his recreation in the doctor's house at Richterswil, to which he had a standing invitation. When intimate friends arrived in Zurich, La-

vater took them up the Lake to Richterswil. In this way there came to Richterswil Goethe and the Duke of Weimar, the Prince of Dessau and Charlotte von Lengefeld, who became Schiller's wife. Caspar Schweizer and his wife, Bäbe Schulthess and her children came to the doctor's house for short visits or stayed there for long periods for their health. Hotze made such a profound impression on the Duke of Weimar and the Prince of Dessau that each tried to attract him to his court as medical adviser. But they tried in vain; Hotze remained faithful to his home until, falling under suspicion in the revolutionary years, he was so much shaken by it that he quitted Richterswil and Zurich for Frankfort, never to return.

In the winter of 1793—1794, during a prolonged absence of Hotze, Heinrich Pestalozzi managed the house at Richterswil, and received there Fichte and Baggesen the Dane. The spirit which animated this house under Hotze's guidance is best shown by a "contract" with Lavater, who handed his son over to his friend, in order that he might be introduced by him to the practice of medicine.

"May gratitude and humane feeling" so runs this unusual document "ever keep present to my mind the importance and venerability of the lower orders of suffering mankind. The love of man has ever been the blessing of my house from my grandfather's time until the present day; it brings a joy which the world knows not. If you would be a doctor, then be a man. The suffering patient sees, feels, knows the humanity of his doctor, and it makes a deep and powerful impression on him". And, later on in this "contract" it is said "Every noble man has one social aim and one only, to work and to serve. Let the doctor be blind and dumb to all else but this — I will work, advise, help, heal". Among Pestalozzi's papers, there is a manuscript copy of these precepts, a proof of how highly he valued them.

Unless all evidence is deceptive, this was the spirit which reigned in the Hotz family in Richterswil and Wädenswil. It radiated also from Pestalozzi's mother; Anna Schulthess felt it when she made her first visits to the house of her betrothed; she found affection there such as she had never found in her parents' home.

Pestalozzi and Dr. Johannes Hotze have yet another trait in common. Both suffered deeply from self-reproach. "I prayed" writes Hotze to Lavater "that God would forgive me, that He would have pity on me, a miserable sinner, and show me the way to save myself from shame and ruin. O receive me with pity, as I hope God will receive my repentance." On Easter

Sunday, 1772, he proposes to hear Lavater's sermon. "May the blessing of God" he writes "rest this afternoon specially upon you, and may He grant me, as I hear you from the pulpit, an open heart and a resolute purpose."

The reverence which Dr. Hotze shows for Lavater, the same moods, fears and resolutions, are to be found in Pestalozzi's sister Barbara, born 1751, even at the time when she was already married to Gottlob Grosse in Leipzig. She must have had religious instruction from Lavater, and is deeply attached to her teacher. On May 7th, 1777, shortly after her marriage, she writes:

"My dearest Pastor, My deepest thanks for all your expressions of love for Bäbe, so far away, for all your exhortations — O may my faith never grow too weak to follow them — for then I may go my new and earnest way, be it roses or thorns which I have to tread — but O most revered Pastor how weak is still my faith, and at every weakness of my faith, how I am cast down from the little height I may have reached on my way to the goal into the depths, into the slough of unbelief. O pray for me, for my daily growth in the knowledge and love of Jesus. O I feel that every day on which we have made no step for ourselves means ten steps lost, I feel it in my inmost soul that this knowledge, this faith in Jesus alone makes us happy, alone gives us strength to go the way of righteousness, alone gives us true gladness and joy. This is all experience and inmost conviction — and yet — Dearest Pastor, and yet I am a child, which stumbles on its way, which oftener falls than stands. Pray that I may be made perfect. I recommend myself and my husband to your love and prayers. May you never forget

Your

Bäbe Gross, née Pestalozzi

$17\frac{7}{5}77.$"

One family remains to be mentioned, through which Heinrich Pestalozzi came into contact with the industrial activity which his ancestors had once exercised. In the Hottinger Steg, there lived a sister of his mother, Anna Barbara Weber, née Hotz. Her husband descended from a Hirslanden family, which had risen to respect and comfort by its activity in the silk industry. As the members of the Weber family were not citizens of the town, they could not, of course, exercise the industry independently; as artisans, they were in the service of a *Stadtherr*. The marriage of a sister of Weber's

with a citizen of the town, Hans Konrad Finsler, brought about a change. Finsler, who had previously been a paper-miller, became a silk manufacturer, opened his business in the Hottinger Steg, and took in his brother-in-law, formally as employee, actually as partner. Here, in the house of "Uncle Weber", Pestalozzi became acquainted with the silk industry, and when, later, he tried to introduce industrial occupations into his institution for the poor, and among the inhabitants of the Birrfeld, the strong impressions of his youth probably played their part in his endeavour.

Thus Heinrich Pestalozzi, born January 12th 1746, had a rich spiritual heritage, and received in his youth more varied and powerful impressions than one would suspect in looking at the little household which the widow kept up with her three children Joh. Baptist, Heinrich and Barbara and the loyal old maid Babeli. In Höngg, it was the social activity of his grandfather which must have impressed him, in Richterswil the activity of a noble-minded, deeply religious doctor, in Hottingen and Hirslanden the successful industrial activity of a man who was endeavouring to overcome the restrictions which hampered the subjects of the town in the sphere of industry. Pestalozzi's lively mind mastered these manifold impressions and was able to turn them to account in his later work. If town and country are rivals for his soul by the strength of the impressions they made upon him, the country has the advantage; his mother bound him to the country and its fate, and the men who stood closest to Pestalozzi after the death of his father were either themselves countrymen, or devoted to the countrymen their life's work.

EARLY FRIENDS

If a man can be judged by the depth and extent of his friendships, then Pestalozzi comes off well; a rich measure of friendship fell to his share. His love for Anna Schulthess was born of a friendship; the mutual care and sorrow for a friend, Menalk, brought them together. When Pestalozzi was a suitor for the hand of Anna, the loyalty of his youthful friends seems to him to offer surety for the future. In the letter in which he opens his inmost soul to Anna, and shows her the dangers which might threaten her should she marry him, he speaks of early death as possible, but finds comfort in the devotion of his friends. "If I should die, my friends will vie with each other in bringing up my children entirely as I would have it done. I can rely upon my friends with the utmost confidence, and on my deathbed, I will scarcely think that my children will miss me, and you too, my dearest, if we should marry, and I should die, would find in my friends all the love and help which I could give you in my life. My children will never feel the misery of being orphaned, and even my wife will only feel by my personal absence that she is a widow. How richly the Lord rewards uprightness and lovingkindness here below; how blessed is the enjoyment of such friendship! What sacrifice is too great to keep it! What blessedness there is in being able to rely upon it!" The wisdom and virtue of his friends is to him a certainty. "How many among my friends are wiser, better than I! How well our little ones will grow up in the merry throng of the children of these virtuous young men!" And later he says "I am proud of my friends!" — "Weiss, Schulthess, Klauser, Füssli, Waser, Pfenninger, Wolf, Steinfels, are names as yet unknown, but I see great promise in them, and their lives will attract attention from many sides, and these all are mine, as Füssli and Lavater are mine, and I give them to you, dearest love, and gracious friend of my friends, I give them all to you — and I give you to all of them. One day, you must pass many hours with these, the best of men; they must often come to us and enjoy with us the pleasures of country life."

Pestalozzi estimates the devotion of his friends by what he is ready to do for them himself. How seriously he took the duties of friendship is shown by his conduct towards a brother of Lavater, who was in danger of falling into a life of unsteadiness and excess. So Pestalozzi, who was staying with Tschiffeli in Kirchberg, went to Biel, to look after the unfortunate young man. "I must

go to Biel to-morrow in all haste, Lavater is an unhappy, lost man" Pestalozzi writes to his betrothed, who wished to visit him in Kirchberg. "I have received to-day terrible news of his brother; his excesses are driving him to despair .... I am the only man in the whole world who has any power over his soul; I shall stay, if necessary, one month, two months there .... It is a great sacrifice that I make to my friend, but such danger leaves no time for reflection as to whether I should go or not .... O! if I can save him, if I can again win his friendship, how my soul will rejoice all my life in these days...."

It would seem that Pestalozzi sought and found compensation for the paternal guidance he lacked in these friends of his youth. The first fatherly friend and counsellor was Menalk, — Caspar Bluntschli. He was, it is true, only three years older than Pestalozzi, but ill-health and the contemplation of approaching death made him mature far beyond his years. It was Menalk, who, as Pestalozzi told later, warned his young friend on his death-bed to enter upon no important enterprise without having at his side a man with a quiet, cool knowledge of men and things. But though he wished to dissuade him from big business schemes, he confided to him other cares — something of his anxiety for his country. "I will not forget Menalk's first precepts and my first resolutions to devote myself entirely to my country; I will never be silent from fear of man if I see that the need of my country calls me to speak" writes Pestalozzi to Anna Schulthess from the death-bed of his friend.

After Menalk's death, Lavater was the friend who was the most capable of exercising a fatherly influence on Pestalozzi. He was five years older than Pestalozzi; his intelligence and his rapidly improving position seemed to mark him out as adviser. With Füssli, in the Feuermörser, he was the first to whom was confided Pestalozzi's engagement to Anna Schulthess; he spoke for the young couple to the Schulthess parents, and again it was he who made it possible for Pestalozzi to be received by Tschiffeli. In making his enquiries of Tschiffeli, Lavater must have drawn an attractive picture of Pestalozzi, for the Bernese *Chorgerichtsschreiber* speaks in his answer of a charming description which has quite predisposed him in favour of the excellent young man, so that he is looking forward to having him at his farm. — In Pestalozzi's correspondence with Anna Schulthess, we constantly meet Lavater's name, and Anna speaks joyously of "our Lavater" after he was unanimously elected as Assistant Pastor. The young couple read Lavater's sermons, copies of which were circulated among his friends.

To the Hof at Mülligen, the simple house where Pestalozzi lived, first with his mother, then with his young wife, the friends came often, sometimes for long visits. Anna, in her diary, seems to think that there were more distractions and amusements than were consistent with the accomplishment of the important work Pestalozzi had to do. Later, Pestalozzi became an increasing subject of anxiety to the friends of his youth. The purchases of land in the Birrfeld, the building of the Neuhof, and the first agricultural failures troubled them profoundly. When the bankers Schulthess threatened to foreclose their loan, the friends met in Zurich to take counsel together. Rudolf Schinz, in his diary, gives reports of these conferences, to which Pestalozzi came from Mülligen. A statement to the banker Schulthess at the Gewundenen Schwert was drawn up by the friends in concert, they transacted business with him at his estate in Hottingen, and finally agreed to ask advice and help of Tschiffeli. The discussions lasted from May to August 1770, Schinz and Meiss being the most active in their attempts to find a satisfactory solution. But it was not until October 14th that Anna could write in her diary, "The business with the Gewundenen Schwert is settled in the most satisfactory way, and God blesses our land".

Later life became quieter at the Neuhof; we hear less of friendly visits and the letters of the period give little information. Pestalozzi applied to Lavater again in 1775, when he wanted a song for his meeting-room for the poor. The song was to express the joy of having soul and body provided for, of exercising the powers of mind and heart in glad and cheerful daily work. Lavater and Pestalozzi were again co-operating in the nineties, when it was a question of acting on behalf of the country people along the lake of Zurich and negotiating between town and country. And when Lavater, feeling death near, wrote lines of remembrance to his friends, he wrote the following lines for Pestalozzi.

> Thou who standest alone, misjudged, yet beloved of many,
> Thou so quick to attempt what no man attempted before thee,
> May the Lord grant thee success, and crown thine age with quiet.

Pestalozzi remembered his dead friend's words later, when he was soliciting the interest of his Zurich friends for his method: "Lavater, if he were still alive, would raise his voice for the good cause, as he often raised it; and he would be listened to, as he was often listened to. I grieve for my country that he is dead."

In the house Zum unteren Berg in the Hirschengraben, Zurich, there lived till about 1786 a young business man, whose education had been carried out by Lavater after the early death of his parents: Johann Caspar Schweizer. His hospitable home was open to Swiss and foreign scholars and artists. Lavater, Steinbrüchel, Leonhard Meister, Doctor Hotze were often guests at this house. Goethe and the Duke of Weimar stayed there. The latter commissioned Füssli to paint Magdalena Hess, Schweizer's wife. Schweizer, who had a predilection for pedagogic studies, often discussed education and teaching with Pestalozzi. A society "for the furtherance of domestic and moral happiness" was to be founded in 1785. We do not know if Pestalozzi met Goethe in Schweizer's house in 1779; it is not impossible. In any case, it was under a powerful personal impression that he addressed these surprising lines to Goethe in the *Abendstunde*.

"O Goethe, from my depth, I look up to thee on the height, I sigh,
I tremble and speak not,
Thy power is as the might of great princes, who, to the glory of empire,
sacrifice the blessings of their people."

To Schweizer's lively mind, Zurich seemed too cramped; he longed for a wider sphere of activity, and hoped to increase his fortune by successful speculation, so that he might do good on a large scale. Paris seemed to him the most suitable place for the realisation of his plans. He founded there a banking house, gave brillant receptions, became the confidant of Mirabeau, was caught in the whirlpool of the Revolution, and forfeited his entire fortune. "His sublime kindness was always more prompt than his prudence; he kept nothing for himself, when he saw the needy; he said they had every right to his wealth." Thus the loyal companion of his life, Magdalena Hess, describes him. She later welcomed Pestalozzi to her home when he was staying in Paris as member of the *Consulta*. It is not excluded that Johann Caspar Schweizer drew the attention of his political friends to Pestalozzi, and brought about his nomination as citizen of honour of the French Republic.

To those Zurich friends who remained loyal to Pestalozzi till their death, belongs also David Vogel, the confectioner and subsequent *Ratsherr*, the father of Ludwig Vogel the historical painter. Pestalozzi later consulted him on matters connected with property, and Anna Pestalozzi also valued his advice. In 1813 Pestalozzi handed his will over to him. The friendship des-

cended to the son. When Ludwig Vogel was staying in Rome in 1811, Pestalozzi called on him to forget the world, and to devote his art to the service of his country. "Nothing is more pleasing or of greater worth to me" Ludwig Vogel answered him "than the kind sympathy which you manifest for my present profession and for the particular form of art which I have chosen, namely to paint pictures of my beloved country". Vogel needs consolation, his country seems to him to be in danger; Pestalozzi is to give him this consolation: "You wish so much to see all men happy and would certainly give me many an idea in this connection, too, which would encourage me and be useful for my purpose. As my father's friend, show me only your affectionate interest, and this shall be possible after my return, if God will."

It must have been a great joy to Pestalozzi to see the son of one of his most loyal friends so profoundly attached to him.

EDUCATION

A surprisingly large number of original and creative minds were formed in the schools of Zurich between 1730 and 1760. We need only refer here to Johann Georg Sulzer, Martin Planta, Johann Caspar Lavater, Heinrich Meister, Johann Heinrich Waser and Johann Heinrich Füssli the artist. In 1745, not many years after having finished his studies in Zurich, Sulzer wrote his *Versuch einiger vernünftiger Gedanken über die Auferziehung und Unterweisung der Kinder*, in which he anticipated a number of the ideas of Rousseau. He attained to still greater fame later as an aesthetician and it would seem that in this way the pedagogue was forgotten, for it is not only the maturity and the import of his educational ideas which give cause for astonishment, it is the fact that they have not attracted much greater attention and interest. Martin Planta, though a native of the Grisons, must be mentioned here, because he finished his theological education in Zurich, and on leaving the town, though only eighteen years old, had already conceived the plan of founding "a general and public educational establishment". He was the founder and successful director of the first *Philanthropin*. There is no need to make special reference to Johann Caspar Lavater; he early won fame in his immediate surroundings by his *Schweizerlieder* and abroad by his studies of physiognomy, and his personal fascination must have been extraordinary and lasting. Heinrich Meister, who followed Voltaire in his religious views and who on this account fell into disgrace in his native town, became a delicate critic of French literature, and found occasion in his association with the greatest minds of France to develop his "happy disposition to a rare urbanity". Johann Heinrich Waser, a companion of Pestalozzi's youth, the unfortunate pastor *Am Krcuz* near Zurich, was a pioneer in the field of statistics and political economy. But in order to understand fully the spirit which was animating the young men who were then leading Zurich, we must turn to the work of Johann Heinrich Füssli who, in his young theological days, was concerned with Lavater in the *Grebelhandel*, and soon after left Zurich, to transform himself, in Italy and England, from poet to artist. "Every thought, every effort of my soul shall be directed with you to one great purpose" Füssli writes to Lavater. "Piecemeal work I despise." And again from London, "I need room — depth, length, breadth" .... Homer, Dante, Shakespeare and Milton were his inspiring geniuses. And the man

who made him aware of these great spirits was Bodmer. The portrait in which Füssli painted himself with Bodmer in front of the bust of Homer is a striking testimony of the relations between Bodmer and his pupils. We know from Pestalozzi's account of his own early years how Bodmer could inspire young minds for the ideals of the antique world. By that standard the present was judged, and it was a severe one. The enquiry into existing evils was accompanied by an ardent zeal for reform. Lavater and Füssli rose against *Landvogt* Grebel in Grüningen, Waser against the leaders of the *Am Kreuz* parish, who were negligent in the administration of common property, Rudolf Schinz against an unfaithful pastor, Christoph Heinrich Müller, in the *Bauerngespräch*, against the use of Zurich troops against the citizens of Geneva. One thing is certain — the young men of Zurich belonging to Bodmer's circle were brought to a realisation of the significance of action and strove to give active expression to the doctrines of their master. Bodmer may be regarded as the man who at his time exercised the greatest influence in every way on the students of Zurich. Füssli, like Pestalozzi, wished to call him "Father".

Pestalozzi himself mentions, together with Bodmer, Johann Jakob Breitinger and Johann Jakob Steinbrüchel as inspiring teachers of his time. The two last-named were accustomed to stroll on the public promenade at the Platzspitz, where the Limmat and the Sihl join, and, as a contemporary relates, groups of eager youths and lovers of literature would join them there. "At the point where Gessner's statue now stands" — Gessner was himself one of the most assiduous frequenters of these learned walks — "there seemed to be a open air lecture-room, which none left without having acquired new and important instruction from the mouth of both men".

Besides these two men, mention must be made of Dr. Johannes Gessner, who was teacher of mathematics and natural science at the Carolinum in Zurich. He had studied in Leyden and Paris, and had been among the pupils of Bernoulli in Basle. He had been honoured by scientific societies in St. Petersburg, Upsala, Berlin, Florence and Göttingen; he was in touch with Euler, Haller, Linné, Boerhaven. Lavater calls him "the dearest son of wisdom, the confidant of nature, who sought truth only along the path of experience". It is not by chance that his pupils Sulzer and Planta, in their efforts to improve teaching and education, laid new tasks on mathematics and natural science. And Heinrich Pestalozzi, who called himself "the most unmathematical of minds" as early as *Lienhard und Gertrud* puts the teaching of mathematics on a new basis, and gives it broader aims.

The increase of interest in natural sciences, and especially in botany, finds a curious expression; it is connected with a new attitude towards agriculture. The pupils and friends of Gessner — there were a number of medical men among them — undertook botanical and agricultural experiments. Johann Heinrich Sulzer, town physician of Winterthur, introduced new species of trees on his estate; he exerted himself for the cultivation of potatoes and various root vegetables, and for the improvement of different kinds of fruit. Neighbouring farmers turned to use on a large scale what Sulzer had discovered in the course of his experiments. The definite literary expression of these endeavours was given by the town physician of Zurich, Dr. Hans Caspar Hirzel, in his book *Die Wirtschaft eines philosophischen Bauers* which was published by Heidegger in 1761. The book was the more important for Heinrich Pestalozzi in that it was published at the time when the question of the choice of a profession began to arise. It must have made a great impression that a respected citizen of the town should sing the praise of a simple farmer with such enthusiasm. In the introduction Hirzel personally advocates agriculture: "The science of agriculture is undoubtedly worthy of the attention of the wisest and the best, for it bases the happiness of the state on a well-ordered economy. The best laws and the wisest constitution lose all their power and cannot save a land from ruin, if the living of the inhabitants is not safeguarded by an intelligent arrangement of the general economy." In Hirzel's opinion, factory work can certainly contribute to raise a poor country above more fertile ones, but this method remains uncertain as long as the improvement of agriculture is neglected.

Hirzel tells how he himself lived in the country from his ninth to his sixteenth year — his father was an official in Cappel — and spent all his free time with the farmers, discussing agriculture with them. "On all sides" he continues "the beauties of nature offered me the most radiant delights and awakened in me the first wish to choose a profession which should be most closely connected with the contemplation of nature. I then felt the truth of the eulogies which, at a riper age, I saw given to agriculture in the immortal writings of the Greeks and Romans." Hirzel refers to the words of Socrates in Xenophon. "Even the happiest of men cannot do without agriculture. It inspires the soul with industry and zeal for work, and fills it at the same time with a sweet delight. It increases wealth and exercises the body, so that one has in one's power all that is meet for a free man." Hirzel

regards the husbandman as more worthy of the attention of the wise man than any other order of mankind "for here human nature is seen in the greatest simplicity. Husbandry has its Lycurguses, its Socrates, its Platos and Homers, even its Lucians, while, on the other hand it nourishes every kind of vice and evil." Therefore the contemplation of the husbandman is the best opportunity of knowing the human soul and developing true conceptions of the greatness and happiness of mankind. Does this not sound almost like a preface to *Lienhard und Gertrud*? While Salomon Gessner exalted country life in his Idylls, Hirzel described the activity of Kleinjogg in all the details of his agricultural experiments. But Pestalozzi journeyed to the Katzenrütihof to get instruction in agriculture from the "philosophic peasant" himself. The character of Lindenberger in *Lienhard und Gertrud* has traits which Pestalozzi may well have observed in Kleinjogg. The discussions which were organised in connection with Dr. Hirzel's book between the most capable farmers of Zurich *Landschaft* and a number of citizens of the town — the so-called *Bauerngespräche* — also contributed to bring the farmer class into greater respect.

A strong attraction to country life, considerations for his uncertain health and above all the high value he attached to the farmer's life may have decided Pestalozzi in the choice of a profession. The thought that by such a choice he could be of special service to his country played an essential part in his decision. Lavater arranged in 1767 the position as apprentice with the Bernese *Chorgerichtsschreiber* Johann Rudolf Tschiffeli, who had started a model farm on his estate near Kirchberg in the Lower Emmental. Pestalozzi was full of enthusiasm for his master. "My happiness surpasses my expectations" he writes to his betrothed. "Tschiffeli, the best of fathers, the greatest of farmers, in all things my pattern, my teacher, my father. Ah! wert thou but here, my beloved, I would not long for Zurich; I would wish only to live and die here."

His joy in country life and in his profession is also expressed in his letters to Dr. Hirzel, to whom he reports on Tschiffeli's agricultural experiments and successes. He considers himself infinitely fortunate in having learned, under Tschiffeli's direction, a profession which is as important to his country as to himself in his particular circumstances. "I would never, in the noise of city life, have found peace, or known a cheerful, contented quiet in my soul; but now I possess all this, and forget the vain boisterous noise and seek in the extension of my knowledge of things which doubtless form the true

happiness of man, to become a useful, but very retiring member of our Fatherland." Thus Pestalozzi writes to Dr. Hirzel on March 24th, 1768. And a few weeks later, in a further letter to his esteemed patron, he confirms these impressions and resolutions. "Rest and contented quiet, the consequence of my solitary days and happy circumstances, give my soul new courage to fulfil, one day, every duty and fill my heart with a gladness I had scarcely known, had I never been with Tschiffeli." He finds the moral horizon of private life, particularly in his profession, so vast that he intends never to venture into a wider sphere. Such plans made it easy for Pestalozzi to settle in the solitude of the Birrfeld. But his life became something very different from what he here hoped to make it.

FROM THE NEUHOF PERIOD

The little town of Brugg and its environs had an unexpected, and one might say a decisive influence on the fate of Pestalozzi. Anna Schulthess had relatives there, and a christening in 1767 gave her and her betrothed the opportunity of meeting in the house of Assistant Pastor Roll, whose mother came from Zurich. It was probably not by chance that the child was named Johann Heinrich. A short time before, Anna had been godmother in the Frölich-Fisch family; her godchild became later the wife of her only son Jakob. Pestalozzi's attention was probably drawn to the Birrfeld by his new acquaintances and friends. Mayor Frölich of Brugg was the owner of the Hof at Mülligen in which Pestalozzi lived first with his mother, then, after the wedding in Gebistorf, with his young wife until the Neuer Hof at the foot of the Kestenberg was made ready for occupation. A brother of the mayor, Johannes Frölich, officiated as pastor in Birr till 1782; more than one trait of "Pfarrer Ernst" in *Lienhard und Gertrud* is borrowed from him. A further member of the family was Johann Jakob Frölich of Birr, in honour of whom Pestalozzi wrote a memoir in the *Schweizerblatt*.

We know how often the Zurich friends came to the Hof at Mülligen. In conversation with them it became clear that Pestalozzi, in spite of his resolution to live entirely for his profession, was ardently interested in questions affecting the state. He appears to have composed the discussions in *Criton und Thyrsis* after a visit by Pfenninger. The dialogue was directed against the election of the Guild Masters, at which the citizens took an oath always to give their vote to the noblest and best, though at the critical moment, they did not express their inmost conviction, and thus were unfaithful to their oath.

In the figure of Criton, Pestalozzi advocates the recognition of the oath as a binding obligation and rejects every allowance for habit and tradition. We have the impression that Pestalozzi has already set political life among the highest ethical standards, and feels himself profoundly drawn to it, however coolly he may have resolved to regard it.

In spite of its solitude, the Birrfeld brought him new friends from two directions: in the neighbouring borough of Schinznach, the *Helvetische Gesellschaft* had held its sittings since 1761, while in various castles of the environs there lived nobleminded representatives of the Bernese patrician families, such

as the Tscharners, the Fellenbergs and the Hallwyls. In Schinznach, Bodmer had raised the question of the foundation of a Helvetian educational institution according to a plan by Franz Urs Balthasar of Lucerne; Planta had reported on his training-college in Haldenstein and formed new plans before ever Pestalozzi entered the society. He became a member in 1774, the year in which he founded his Institute for the Poor in the Neuhof. At the same time, in his presidential address, the Bernese *Obervogt* von Tscharner gave an ideal picture of the "Formation of Patriotic Youth by a Sound Education". He reminded his hearers that physical training, simplicity of social relationships and the love of right had been the ideal of the ancient founders of the Swiss Federation, and he praised the example of Planta, who had endeavoured to realise that ideal in his *Pflanzschule* at Haldenstein and Marschlins. Pestalozzi regularly attended the meetings in Schinznach in the following years; after one of them, his friends made an expedition to the Neuhof to visit his poorhouse, which many supported by personal contributions. The failure of his poorhouse seems to have prevented Pestalozzi from attending the meetings in 1779 and 1780; he resumed attendance after the publication of *Lienhard und Gertrud* had brought his name to honour. In 1786 he heard the address in which Professor Daniel von Fellenberg discussed the plans for the foundation of an educational establishment for the moral and political formation of the future statesmen of the republic. Fresh failures, this time in his activity as author — the later parts of *Lienhard und Gertrud* passed almost unnoticed — kept Pestalozzi away from the meetings of the *Helvetische Gesellschaft* for some years more. He only returned in the politically restless years between 1795 and 1797, to find there a younger generation, who demanded reform more vehemently and more boldly. Albrecht Rengger, Paul Usteri, Hans Konrad Escher were the coming leaders.

Pestalozzi had already come into contact with leading families of Berne during his time with Tschiffeli. In his letters to Anna Schulthess he mentions among others von Tavel and von Willading. As a landed proprietor in the Birrfeld he was obliged to appear before the Bernese *Hofmeister* at Königsfelden, who changed every six years, to do homage. Soon a friendly intercourse developed with them and with the Bernese *Obervögte* who resided in Schloss Wildenstein. He came into contact with Niklaus Emanuel von Tscharner in the mutual care for the poor, who were then suffering particularly as a result of the bad harvests in the seventies. Pestalozzi, it is true, had to take a different way from the Bernese *Landesherr*. In his

opinion, it is not benefits which can save, but only measures which help the poor to help themselves. "My noble friend" says Pestalozzi to the Bernese *Landvogt* "What shall I say to your dreams? This only — may Almighty God grant that days are coming when fathers of the country, wise as you are, may thus save the poor, when the rich will no longer forget the poor, and men no longer see their fellows struggling in confusion." But Pestalozzi can and may not follow the dreams of the friend of man; he must go his way "amid all the difficulties of the man who is not free, who dare not dream". He knows that these ways are imperfect, that by them he can win forward but slowly, that almost unconquerable difficulties lie before him. And yet there is no other way for him, if he really desires to help.

Pestalozzi has immortalised the Tscharner family in the figure of "Landesvater Arner" in *Lienhard und Gertrud*. It was long thought that this character represented Niklaus Emanuel von Tscharner, that is, the *Landvogt* at Wildenstein. It was only recent research that proved that his brother, Vinzenz Bernhard von Tscharner, Bernese *Landvogt* of Aubonne, was equally the original of the portrait. Like Pestalozzi, he was a member of the Bernese *Ökonomische Gesellschaft* and influenced Pestalozzi by his work on irrigation and on better exploitation of the common lands; a number of his ideas are taken up in *Lienhard und Gertrud*. It is not excluded that the name of the village "Bonnal" refers to Aubonne. As Vinzenz Bernhard von Tscharner died in 1778, it is probable that it is his memory which Pestalozzi wished to honour in the first part of *Lienhard und Gertrud*, which appeared in 1781.

Daniel von Fellenberg, who was Bernese *Landvogt* at Wildenstein also received a literary memorial from Pestalozzi: in all probability, the words from the "Address to a Noble Gentleman" with which Pestalozzi prefaces the *Nachforschungen* were addressed to him. "Sir! Two men in one country sought truth for the people — the one, highborn, sacrificed his nights and days to do good in the land in which he ruled. He reached his goal — His land was blessed through his wisdom — praise and honour crowned his head — the nobles of his land trusted him, and the people obeyed in silence. The other, a weakling, did not reach his goal; every one of his endeavours failed — He did no service to his country — Misfortune, suffering and error bowed his head, they deprived his truth of all power — and his existence of all influence — The noble in the land know him not, and the people mock him. — Which of the two, think you, has found the truth for his people? The world will reply: The weakling is a dreamer, and the truth is on the side

of the great man. — But he judged not so — When he heard of the tireless seeking of the weakling for truth for the people, he went to him in his hut and asked him "What have you seen?" Then the weakling told the noble man the story of his life and the noble man expounded to him the state of many things which he did not know. — The weakling was just to the noble man and the noble man bestowed his attention upon the experience of the weakling. A great gravity was upon the countenance of both when they parted and on the lips of both were the words, "We meant well, and have both erred"".

Yet another loyal friendship came to Pestalozzi and his wife in the Neuhof time: that with Fransiska Romana von Hallwyl and her family. The first contact was perhaps due to an early friend of Pestalozzi's, Heinrich Steinfels, who was at the time *Pfarrvikar* in Seengen, near Hallwil. We owe to him sketches of the Hallwyl family. He relates that Romana von Hallwyl, who belonged to an Austrian, Catholic branch of the family was carried off by Johannes von Hallwyl in Vienna and brought to the family castle on the Lake of Hallwil. Berne only recognised the marriage when the young wife had become Protestant. In 1780, after a few years of cloudless married happiness, the young nobleman died, just after his return from a journey to Vienna, and left the young widow with three boys in very modest circumstances. Dr. Hotze had been called to the death-bed of the Count, but too late. Whether the friendship with Pestalozzi and his wife dates from this time or not, we do not know; it is certain, however, that Anna later stayed at Hallwil for weeks at a time and that Pestalozzi himself found there most profound sympathy with his work and for his failures. When he at last found in Stans the sphere of activity for which he had so long yearned, he communicates his happiness and his hopes to the Countess:

My very dear Friend,

It is going well — everything is going well — I am wiping out the shame of my life — the virtue of my youth is renewed. As a man who has been sunk to the neck in mud and filth, and sees death approach... so I lived for years — many years, in the despair and the rage of my indescribable misery ... but now I see and feel myself free of my uncleanness, I see and feel that my fate is like the fate of other men, am myself a man again and gladly reconcile myself with my kind, and even with those who were ceaselessly employed in pouring water into the quagmire of my misery.

Break the chalice of my misery and drink with a human glass to my salvation — to my work and to my betterment.

Good-bye, come to me too — good-bye

P.

"I shall never forget the long fidelity of the dear ones in Hallwil" wrote Anna in her diary. At the time when Pestalozzi was staying in Paris as member of the *Consulta*, a son of the Countess died there. Pestalozzi had looked after him during his illness and now he tried to comfort the bereaved mother:

"Unhappy, afflicted mother! Is it of comfort to you that all who know your name here, so far away, share in your sorrow — especially the good Frau Schweizer — (he means Magdalena Schweizer-Hess) — I have never known a human being preserve so pure a nature as this woman, who suffers now too, deeply, — but so do all those from Berne, Zurich, Argau, who show a sorrow for the departure of your son such as so many seldom show, especially in Paris, where life and death pass like shadows. Ah! you do not need life to love — Your Jeannot is holy to you in the hands of God as he was dear to you in the hands of men, — in the hands of men — into what hands would he have come with the excess of his greatness of heart and goodness over the rude strength which alone can save from being crushed in the hands of men!

Remember me to Carl — (the Countess's second son) —, and tell him he is to inherit Jeannot's goodness, then you will be better able to bear Jeannot's loss.

God be with you and with your Grateful and Respectful

Pestalozzi."

In the quarrel between Philipp Emanuel von Fellenberg on the one hand, and Pestalozzi, von Muralt and Tobler on the other, the Countess tried to mediate. "He has done much for you" she wrote from the Wylhof to Pestalozzi "therefore you shall and must not break with him. Men such as you two must understand each other, if the heart is only allowed to speak". The attempt at mediation came too late, von Muralt and Tobler broke with von Fellenberg, and came to Yverdon.

A proof of noble friendship is given by the letters which Pestalozzi and the Countess exchanged after the death of Anna Pestalozzi. "Through the long years" wrote Pestalozzi "you have gladdened my wife's life with friendship, while the course of my life could for the most part, only oppress her; now you grieve that you can no longer gladden her in this world, that you must cease to do good to her.... Do not mourn too much. Your faith and your love follow her into that world and we shall find her again and rejoice with a greater gladness. Dear friend, do not grieve so deeply over the events of this world; the weaknesses of man are bearable even to the noblest of us only if we pardon and forget them. Only thus can man rise so far that he no longer requires from men what they cannot give, and rejoices in the good, which, after all, they have in them, as if no shortcoming were there. I know that, the purer and nobler we are, the harder it is to forget unrighteousness... but the noble man must strive to do so, or his sorrow will destroy him and he will become by it the more incapable of bearing the events of life with the high resignation which transforms the days of our sorrow into holy days of inner purification."

Romana von Hallwyl was also deeply interested in the development of the Institute at Yverdon and in the fate of Pestalozzi's collaborators. Joseph Schmid visited her in Aarau to submit to her the plan of the Institute for the Poor; Mieg made her a farewell visit before leaving Switzerland. In a letter to Lisabeth, the faithful housekeeper at the Neuhof, she writes herself "faithful into death". So intimately was she bound up with the whole Pestalozzi household.

She died on March 6th, "after fifty-six years of widowhood".

THE FRIENDS IN BASLE

The Recoder of Basle, Isaak Iselin, with whom Pestalozzi came into contact at the meetings of the *Helvetische Gesellschaft*, became a friend in need. Pestalozzi was in touch with him for a few years only. After Iselin's death in 1782, he wrote an article in the *Schweizerblatt* expressing his regret that he knew so little of all the good his friend had done, and even of his writings, and that everything that Iselin was in general lay so far outside his horizon. On the other hand, he is glad that their friendship was not due to opinions or books. "He loved me before I wrote, and without my having read what he wrote." The few years of the friendship made Iselin an important factor in Pestalozzi's fate. "He was, in the heat and struggle of the day's work, when I seemed to be wasting my strength in vain, the only one on whose breast I could lean, covered with sweat and dust, and find refreshment. O! my friend, perhaps, without thee, I had sunk into the depths, to be lost in the quagmire of my misery." Thus Pestalozzi expresses his gratitude in the *Schweizerblatt*. From what he says, he had seen in the house of Iselin the happy family he wished to describe in *Lienhard und Gertrud*. "Noble soul! in the circle of thy family, I learnt the wisdom of life, which no words taught me — by thy side I saw life's purest happiness. Far and near, there lives no other woman such as thou hast deserved and hast by thy side — and the joy of thy children, and the number of them and their love and harmony — ah! here is joy on earth and the best reward of the wise, which the great and famous so often do not know."

Pestalozzi's agricultural enterprises had failed, his Poorhouse was on the point of collapse, when Iselin entered the circle of the "fool of the poor" at the Neuhof, whom even his best friends then only loved without hope. In Iselin's paper, the *Ephemeriden*, there appeared the "Appeal to Philanthropists" which was intended as an appeal for the Institute at the Neuhof; a short time after there appeared in the same paper Pestalozzi's *Briefe über die Erziehung der armen Landjugend* (Letters on the Education of the Rural Poor). But the greatest service which Iselin rendered Pestalozzi was that he, with his wife, read the manuscript of *Lienhard und Gertrud*, prepared it, with infinite difficulty, for the press, and was able to get it accepted by a publisher. In this way, he was able to restore to life a poor unhappy man who was despairing of himself, to give him new hope, and a new position in the eyes of

the world. Glad indeed was Iselin when the book was a success, and went through a second edition in the year of publication. He did not allow the book to be dedicated to himself; his name first appears on the title-page of the second part, for then he was dead. So Pestalozzi dedicated the second volume to the "Shade of Iselin", writing: "Though you suppressed my dedication of the first part of this book to yourself, yet I dedicate this second part to your memory, and say now with tears what I then said with joy, that I have honoured, revered and loved you as I have honoured, revered and loved few men in the world".

Through Iselin, Pestalozzi made the acquaintance of Felix Battier, a merchant in Basle, who from that time strove to take the place of the dead friend. He tried above all things to improve Pestalozzi's economic situation, and by his ideas influenced Pestalozzi's attitude to economic questions at this time very strongly. Pestalozzi, for his part became the adviser of the Battier family in educational matters. We still possess a series of letters addressed by Pestalozzi to the two Battier children, Gertrud and Felix, at the request of the parents, and others in which he gives advice to their tutor, Petersen. In the hitherto unpublished letters to the children we are aware of the same gravity towards the task of education as in the talks which Gertrud was accustomed to have with the children on Saturday.

"Dear Children" writes Pestalozzi on October 1782 "I am glad that you still think of me and that you write Jacqueli; I think of you too with joy and everything I hear and see of you makes me glad — And Herr Petersen is good enough to tell me from time to time how you are and what you are doing. Dear Children, if I were with you, I would talk much with you, and it would be my greatest joy to see you happy and gay and contented with all that is about you.

Dear Felix, I am glad that you are interested in all that you see and hear, and are kind and obliging to everybody to whom you can show kindness. Dear Felix, try to do this more every day and it will make you happy if, from your youth up, you try to live not so much for your own sake as for the sake of your fellow men. —

Dear Felix, ask Herr Petersen to write down for you every day how you must train yourself to be good, — think, if one day you have to work like Papa, and have not worked gladly in your youth, how hard it would be for you, and how unhappy you would be if you did not like work when you were old. Dear Child, count therefore the hours of your youth

and give me the pleasure of telling me much of how you use them from day to day.

Dear Gertrudli, Do not make your life a burden to yourself, and think before you speak and still more before you act, of what you are going to say or do — Make that a habit and talk every morning with Mama and Herr Petersen of how you can get rid of these bad habits for the day; ask them to remind you every hour of how rashly you act; so that they may advise and help you to keep a watch on yourself — for you cannot know how much trouble you can bring on yourself and how much grief on your parents if you do not become quieter and more considerate in your ways. Dear little Gertrud, nothing makes men happier than to work and to pray — but both must be done seriously! Think of that and believe me — I was young too and lively but I suffered much by this fault.

Dear Children! If you have joy in orderliness, you can always live content — but if you seek your joy in disorderliness and in disobedience and naughtiness, you are loading upon yourselves an irksome, sad and unpleasant life.

Good-bye, Children! God be with you. Think of me and believe that I love you dearly and that I am always

Your good friend

Pestalozzi.

The explanations with which Pestalozzi replies to the reports of the tutor Petersen give us an interesting insight into his views on education at this time. For instance, he writes "Your remark that it is a good thing to bring all the senses of the children to a high point of refinement is right in itself, yet this principle has the following limits. One must not, by excessive refinement, reduce the higher powers of the soul and thus make more difficult the cultivation of the skill which our higher duties require of us. In a general way, the care of the senses is rather to be aimed at in the general care for the whole wellbeing of the body. To be healthy and to do right leads to good seeing, hearing, tasting, smelling and feeling and my experience with children has shown me no more reliable way of achieving this than in general a definite, uninterrupted activity, suited to the particular circumstances of each child, and then as much sleep and rest as can possibly be allowed without anxiety for the development of an indolence which might be prejudicial to the performance of the duties of life. Sleep is the balm of nature for body

and soul. It soothes the disorders of the day and the distractions of art, which, if we had to heal them by our own power, would be a thousand fold incurable."

Many other important things are to be found in these letters from Pestalozzi to the tutor of Battier's children. For instance he shows that the suppression of instinct is dangerous unless it is accompanied by an awakening of the feeling for higher duties and aims. Where this is not the case, the result is weak, oppressed, shy men and women, without an open, free mind, without inner strength, without a personal goal and without personal courage. "Dear Herr Petersen — Make this point of view one of your first rules in education."

Pestalozzi's son Jakob was on friendly terms with the Battier children. Pestalozzi was perhaps persuaded by the friends in Basle to put him in an institute in Mulhouse, where he could be trained in business. Later, he was apprenticed to Battier. To this period belongs a letter which Pestalozzi wrote to his son, which shows clearly the tragic situation of both, but which also shows Pestalozzi's attitude in the face of suffering.

Dear Jacques,

With grief and sorrow I see from your letter to your dear Mother that your illness has befallen you again — but think, dear, dear Jacques what happened to me; on that night, that Sunday, I dreamed that your illness came over me; I still see my legs moving — I hear myself screaming — I still see my doctor standing by me, holding my hand, comforting me — I can remember his words exactly: Do not fear, but take refuge in Jesus Christ and in prayer, and you will be helped. When I awoke, I thought for a time that it was really true and that your illness had befallen me. I lay in a sweat, my legs felt dead, and I took time to convince myself that it was only a dream.

Be sure, Jacques, that all this happened to me on Saturday or Sunday night — I do not remember exactly which. It is of importance to me from many points of view. Above all, it shows me that my heart is near you. Then I must ask — Do you remember whether you thought of me that night? It is very important to know this. Then, secondly, this dream reveals to me the essence of your cure. Rest of the soul is the only way to restore the troubled balance of your powers. And the direction of our thoughts to the Almighty and Loving Father of man is, in the storms of life, the only way to keep your soul in rest and contented peace.

Dear Jacques, let my doctor be the angel who leads you to God and Jesus.

I am a poor father — I have not made you as happy in the world as I wished you to be. But you have a Father in Heaven who can make good to you all I have not done. Throw yourself into the arms of your Father: forget the earth, and nourish in your soul a pure and holy sense of the good. Pray for the peace of mind which can heal you, and do not let yourself be troubled by the business of your profession. I will help where help is needed. Love your dear ones; think early and late of all the good they do you, and do gladly, and cheer yourself with all that is necessary to the inner contentment of your heart. Have confidence in me, open your heart to me and let us walk hand in hand through this vain world, with a noble and quiet heart, to the goal of a life whose end is the beginning of salvation from true misery.

Dear son, I have often thought here that the magnetism which was used last year had done much to heal your illness. If you can believe in this remedy, begin it again, and may God strengthen the hand that serves you.

Greet all from me. Say to them that my heart is full of thanks and love, and that I beg the pardon of all for my rudeness and weakness.

God be with you, my dear, dear only child. I write this letter with a thousand tears and press you to my heart. May God grant that what is in it may have an influence on you and that you will draw near to my heart as I am near to yours.

Write to me, all of you, in detail; I will then write to everybody. But if I do not do so, yet I am with you and my only joy is my hope that one day I shall not be quite useless to you.

Farewell, all — Help me all with my dear, dear, dear Jacques — then you are all dearer to me than if you were to help me —

Your loving father

Pestalozzi v. Neuenhof.

The illness never again quite loosened its hold. It was probably for this reason that Jacques gave up a commercial career; he took over the Neuhof, married, in 1791, Anna Magdalena Frölich, but died in 1801, while his father was in Burgdorf.

In the days when it was a question of saving the Institute for the Poor from collapse, Pestalozzi made a third friend in Basle. This was Felix Battier's brother-in-law, Jakob Sarasin-Battier the silk manufacturer, the builder

of the "White House" in Basle. The name of Pestalozzi must have had a familiar ring to him for, after terms of apprenticeship in Mulhouse, Neuchâtel and Augsburg he had received his final training as silk manufacturer in the firm of Pestalozzi and Co. in Bergamo. A journey to Florence and Rome had terminated his apprenticeship and made of him a man who "by the ease and elegance of his manners predisposed in his favour everybody who came into contact with him". In the same year as Pestalozzi, 1774, he joined the *Helvetische Gesellschaft*, through which he became friends with a number of the most excellent men. Lavater, when he came to Basle, stayed at the hospitable house at the Rheinsprung, or in Sarasin's country house in Pratteln; there he met his friends Gottlieb Konrad Pfeffel from Colmar, Johann Georg Schlosser, Goethe's brother-in-law, and the poet Jakob Michael Reinhold Lenz. There stayed also with Sarasin Maximilian Klinger, "the genius of power", Christian Kaufmann of Winterthur, and Johann Heinrich Merck, the *Kriegsrat* from Darmstadt, that "strange, significant man". In summer, 1784, Sophie von La Roche with her son and Baron Hohenfeld were the guests of Sarasin. Cagliostro had treated Frau Sarasin during her stay in Strasburg after Lavater and Dr. Hotze had visited him from Richterswil to test his powers. He also stayed in Sarasin's house in Basle, and there, too, came Frau von Branconi, who "fluttered like a delightful butterfly through the history of those days". Lavater delighted, Goethe inspired.

During these years, when Sarasin was the centre of a wide and intellectually active group of friends, Pestalozzi also stayed at the "White House". In December 1778 he dined at Sarasin's with *Ratsherr* Buxtorf, Herr and Frau Battier and others, Battier having visited him a year before at the Neuhof. He was also Sarasin's guest in 1781 and 1793.

Although Jakob Sarasin's friendship for Pestalozzi never attained the importance of Battier's or even Iselin's, yet it shows into what a lively intellectual circle Pestalozzi entered when he visited his friends in Basle. Such relations, which Pestalozzi always sought, because he needed them, were a compensation for the constraint of the long time of waiting at the Neuhof.

FRIENDS ABROAD

In 1779, when the Institute for the Poor at the Neuhof was on the point of collapse, Pestalozzi wrote to Iselin: "I will beg some prince for no more than free quarters in some country house, and work there on a small scale as father to some poor children, without publicity, in solitude and peace." Two years later, after the first part of *Lienhard und Gertrud* had appeared, he returns to the same thought. "With the success of my book, my longing for greater things and for real work rises again, more and more powerful, and I will do everything to put the knowledge I have bought so dear into practice and to turn it to good use. But I feel daily that for what I would become, Switzerland is too cramped."

The desire for a wider sphere of activity abroad seemed to be nearing its fulfilment when Count Zinzendorf, in Vienna, began to interest himself in Pestalozzi's writings. *Landvogt* Fellenberg had sent them to the Count who from time to time sent a contribution to the *Ephemeriden*. Pestalozzi thanked Zinzendorf for his interest in the first part of *Lienhard und Gertrud*, and asked permission to send him the second part, together with his *Bemerkungen über die Auferziehung der Waisen aus dem niedrigsten Volk* (Remarks on the Education of Orphans from the Lowest Classes) and his essay on the humane treatment of prisoners. In 1785, the third part of *Lienhard und Gertrud* was sent to Vienna. Pestalozzi's great aim at this time was to check crime at its source by educating and raising the people; the point for him is a "science of the happiness of the people"; governments should maintain in the aristocracy, clergy and official classes auxiliaries to the promotion of the highest purposes of the legislature. He went so far as to conceive the creation of university chairs from which should be taught "the means of making the people happy", and the part which the various classes could play in this important affair of state. He hoped by research to develop a genuine theory of the leadership of men. Zinzendorf was to regard the fourth part of *Lienhard und Gertrud*, insofar as legislation was treated in it, precisely as a treatise on the subject addressed to him.

Pestalozzi had also sent this fourth part of *Lienhard und Gertrud* to Grand Duke Leopold of Toskana, the future Emperor Leopold II, and received permission to write to the Prince directly from that time on. The letters to the Grand Duke were regularly answered by Count Hohenwart. So that

Pestalozzi's hopes rose high when the Prince ascended the throne. In 1793 they crystallised into the wish to offer his services to the Emperor. A memorial on the combination of school-teaching with professional training was to show how far his plans went. Pestalozzi confesses to Zinzendorf that his wish to give practical service in this sphere absorbs all other wishes of his life; he will regard no career as too difficult, and none as too humble, if it can show him the way to put to the test his principles of the professional training of the people.

Pestalozzi's correspondence at this time closes with the offer of his services. They were not taken advantage of; crowned heads showed themselves no more accessible than republican statesmen when it came to a practical realisation of Pestalozzi's plans. The old state did not possess the necessary power; it had first to be transformed.

This transformation seemed to be in process of realisation in France. Pestalozzi's hopes again waxed high when the French Republic appointed him, with Klopstock, Schiller, Campe and others to citizenship. He held himself ready for service. In a pamphlet, he called on the French people to meet the threatened famine by the cultivation of potatoes, and another, addressed to his new fellow-citizens, which is now lost, is entitled *Dazwischenkunft der Menschengefühle im Streite einiger Meinungen über das tierische, das gesellschaftliche und das sittliche Recht unsrer Natur* (Of the Intervention of Humane Feeling in the Controversy concerning the Animal, Social and Moral Rights of our Nature). He lays his work with joy on the altar of a nation which has so freely shed its blood for the rights of man. To the suspicions that he was in the service of France, he replied that he had always desired the enlightenment of the people, but had always definitely stated that this enlightenment was best to be obtained by "the maintenance of order and by the preparation of the manifold ways by which it can be achieved". *Lienhard und Gertrud* was to be a memorial of the fact that he had exhausted his powers in the effort to preserve pure aristocracy. He stands at the service of his country if it can use him. "My country has no more loyal subject" he writes to Emanuel v. Fellenberg, but, he adds proudly "my judgment of what is the real good of mankind can be bought neither by French nor Swiss." "Neither despotism nor anarchy can shackle virtue for ever. The principles of truth may not be branded with passion, whether of the democrat or of the aristocrat ... We must turn our eyes from all that is happening in order to maintain within us a purer feeling of what should happen."

But he was as unsuccessful in the project of a journey to Paris to find some work in the land which had named him citizen of honour as formerly in his attempt to obtain a sphere of activity in Austria. Pestalozzi was fated to remain in his native country. But the possibility of considerable influence abroad was at this very moment near at hand by the presence of a young Prussian in Zurich and at the Neuhof.

In the year 1791, Georg Heinrich Ludwig Nicolovius accompanied Count Friedrich Leopold zu Stolberg to Zurich. The first man to make a profound impression on him was Lavater. "Often, when he sits with us in agreeable conversation, walks with us, or sails with us on the lake" thus Nicolovius writes at this time "the thought moves me that this is the man who is a source of edification and joy to hundreds of men, and it seems to me that there is a saint at my side." Nicolovius made the acquaintance of Pestalozzi at Pfenninger's. The profound intuition he had of his character is shown by the following passage from a letter. "I have made the acquaintance of a man who is really a man, purified by the descent into hell of self-knowledge and filled with the apostolic spirit. It is Heinrich Pestalozzi, the author of *Lienhard und Gertrud*. Lavater honours him, as every man must honour him, but looks upon him as one of those incorrigibles who believe that mankind can be enlightened and helped at a blow. ... But I can tell you that Pestalozzi takes the truth seriously as few men take it, that I have never seen in a human being so much strength and sweetness, so living a desire to work, and so quiet a waiting upon the Lord." Nicolovius went to see Pestalozzi at the Neuhof and returned "full of joy in the spirit of the house and in the richness of Pestalozzi's own nature". Pestalozzi must have felt himself profoundly attracted to the young man. In a letter which reached Nicolovius in Rome, he expresses his joy at having now found a young friend with whom, in sight of advancing age, he can in all confidence discuss the experiences of his life with the certainty of not being misunderstood. "Remain my friend" continues Pestalozzi, "even when you have seen all the weaknesses of my life and my old age: even then, I beg you, strive for the truth that you see in my plans." The comprehension which Pestalozzi found in Nicolovius seems to have been the more comforting to him in that he saw his own son the victim of a serious disease and could hope from him no continuation of his work. This sorrow is also expressed in a letter to Nicolovius. "I am in trouble about my son — attacks of an apparently epileptic nature cast a shadow on my heart for they bring me in face of great psychological problems. Ah! he

is the victim of my blind belief in man — I hope still — yet my heart is heavy..." In this gloom, the young friendship with Nicolovius shines with a brighter radiance. "I may entrust every wish of my heart to yours" writes Pestalozzi in a subsequent letter to Italy: "I know that you will lend my approaching age the arm of your youth, and that, united with you I shall win to my goal, even from my grave, through many men I should not have known without you." Pestalozzi's prophecy was fulfilled. After his return to his native town, Nicolovius asked Kant for advice as to how he might best serve his country, and Kant advised him to take up education. "Do not be afraid" wrote the philosopher of Königsberg, "The necessity of adapting the schools to the progress of the culture of taste is making itself felt with increasing force, and a man like you would soon make himself epoch-making in the matter." In Königsberg and later in Berlin, Nicolovius made the acquaintance of men who were striving for the regeneration of Prussia, v. Stein the Minister, Humboldt, Gneisenau, Scharnhorst and Fichte. In December 1808, he was appointed to the Council of the Prussian Ministry of the Interior, and precisely to the section of Education and Public Culture. In this office, he made the suggestion of sending a number of young men to Pestalozzi. "We shall revive in your light" he wrote at this time to his friend in Yverdon, "and you will give us marvellous strength." Pestalozzi was particularly glad to hear that King Friedrich Wilhelm had become a supporter of his method. It sounds like a song of rejoicing when he writes in 1809, "I shall not die without seeing the fruit I have sown approach its maturity. My Father in Heaven, who is rescuing my work, has also brought it home to the King your Master: I am looking to him now, and cherish hopes again which I scarcely dared to cherish any longer... God also gives strength to kings, but not through the vain splendour of their thrones. He gives it to them when he shakes this vain splendour to its foundations so that their empires tremble beneath their feet like empty dust upon which a higher power breathes lightly and blows where it will. I have hoped throughout my life for a king to whom this power had been given. I found him not. His time was not yet come. Now it is here. He is here. He is found. You have found him. He has found you, and through you I find him and prove to him what the power of a firm will has made possible even to the lowliness of a poor man."

In 1809, after Fichte, in his *Reden an die deutsche Nation*, had referred to his method as a means of national regeneration, and Prussia was preparing to introduce it into her schools, Pestalozzi stood at the height of his fame abroad.

Once again he counted on a monarch. After he had met Tsar Alexander of Russia in Basle 1814, he was attracted by the prospect of working for his method and for the elementary training of the people in the Russian Empire. He would have been deterred neither by the length of the journey nor by the difficulties of the undertaking. Only the prayers of his friends availed to hold him back. It is remarkable how enterprising Pestalozzi remained until an advanced age, and how the effort to develop, to safeguard and to extend his work continually lent him new strength.

POLITICAL FRIENDS

Pestalozzi's powers seem to have taken a new lease of life in the nineties. The Neuhof was now in the hands of his son. A journey to Leipzig undertaken at the request of relatives in connection with a legacy had served to renew old friendships and to make new acquaintances. Blochmann tells of visits to Klopstock, Wieland, Herder, Jacobi. The same year brought his nomination to the citizenship of the French Republic. The honour certainly brought with it unpleasant consequences. He had to defend himself against the suspicion of being a partisan of France and a promoter of revolutionary efforts in his own country. This suspicion was clearly strengthened by his stay in Richterswil in the winter of 1793—94. At this time Pestalozzi was managing the house of his cousin Dr. Hotze, who was staying elsewhere with his married daughters. The Hotze family were connected with Stäfa by family ties, and the political movements along the Lake of Zurich had already allied the leading citizens of Wädenswil, Horgen, Richterswil and Stäfa. It is interesting to see the extent to which the country doctors who had been trained by Canon Rahn at the Surgical Institute in Zurich were concerned in these political efforts. Even Dr. Hotze fell under the suspicion of having favoured the revolutionary movement among the people. Reproaches on the subject, however unfounded, caused him so much pain that he never set foot in his native land after 1796. But Pestalozzi, in his cousin's house, was transplanted into the middle of this movement, which was in any case of a nature to absorb him. He was for a time suspected of being the author of the memorial of Stäfa. "He was at this time seen coming out of farmhouses in which his presence was suspicious", wrote Lavater to Baggesen, who had visited Pestalozzi in Richterswil with Fichte and Fernow. Pestalozzi saw himself obliged to make a personal visit to some of the leading statesmen of Zurich to acquit himself of unjustified suspicions. In the subsequent *Stäfner-handel* he united his efforts with Lavater's to bring about a reduction of the sentences on the "revolutionaries". A few years later, when the collapse of the old Federation revived the political movement along the Lake, Pestalozzi was the only citizen of the town who dared to go among the excited country people to advise moderation, while he tried, with Lavater, to persuade the Town Government to compromise.

The political life which surged about him, and moved him profoundly,

brought him in face of the problem of man considered theoretically as an animal, social and moral being. His *Nachforschungen über den Gang der Natur in der Entwicklung des Menschengeschlechts* (Enquiry into the Processes of Nature in the Development of the Human Race) are the mature fruit of his efforts to obtain clearness of judgment in the matter.

The new generation honoured in him not only the author of *Lienhard und Gertrud*, but also the leader to higher social and political forms. Philipp Emanuel von Fellenberg, the son of the *Landvogt* of Schenkenberg, Philipp Albrecht Stapfer, who was distantly related to Pestalozzi by mutual connections in Brugg, Hans Konrad Escher von der Linth and Heinrich Zschokke became more closely acquainted with him. A political friendship grew up with Franz Bernhard Meyer von Schauensee, later Helvetian Minister of Justice, who was President of the *Helvetische Gesellschaft* in 1795—1796. Pestalozzi had visited him in Lucerne as early as April 1794. In the correspondence of 1796, both are preoccupied with political problems; the name of Legrand of Basle appears in the correspondence beside that of Sarasin. Pestalozzi shows himself here a zealous partisan of a new order of political life. "Your hopes for the world will certainly be fulfilled" he writes to Meyer. "The stream of knowledge, like all others, becomes headlong and torrential by opposition. It has indeed become so now, and the embarrassment of our poor temporisers is visibly growing. Let us simply reinforce the stream, my dear friend. It will then do the rest itself. It must clear away the obstacles to our culture and our work which those poor dwarfs are heaping up on its banks..." He speaks pessimistically of the state of his country. Switzerland will be lost because the Swiss no longer recognise the ancient rule that the law is the king of the Swiss, and do not keep sovereignty pure of personal arrogance.

The revolution in Switzerland brought Pestalozzi at last the sphere of practical activity which he had hitherto longed for in vain. We know with what zeal and devotion he worked in Stans in the orphanage founded in 1798. In a letter to Zschokke, he describes the circumstances of the next year, which led him to send away his children so soon. "When the news arrived that two thousand men would come to Stans in the morning and that a hospital must be found for the army, the poor inhabitants were confounded. They had no means of fulfilling the demand, while in my Institute there were many necessaries in stock..." So, on the same evening, Pestalozzi handed over the equipment of his Institute and told the children they must be sent away.

It was again the Helvetian Government which made the work in Burgdorf possible. That Pestalozzi chose Burgdorf was a question of family connection. The parents of his daughter-in-law had managed the Burgdorf Orphanage for years, and had brought Pestalozzi into touch with the place. The short period of activity in the *Hintersässenschule* and in a class of the *Bürgerschule* was followed by the work in the Schloss which carried the fame of Pestalozzi far beyond the limits of his country. By a decree of April 29th, 1801, the Helvetian Executive Council granted Pestalozzi a yearly subsidy of 1600 francs and the supply of twenty loads of wood. In April 1802, the *Kleiner Rat* agreed to his proposal that the boroughs should be invited to send teachers to his training-college and to recommend the purchase of his schoolbooks to teachers, both sacred and secular. Again at Pestalozzi's request, the *Kleiner Rat* decided on an inspection of the Institute in the Schloss at Burgdorf "because the improvement of this Institute, which is of such great importance to the nation, and the propagation of this valuable method of teaching can in this way be promoted."

Dean Ith, President of the Berne Education Council, and Benteli, the Bernese chemist, were entrusted with the inspection of the Institute and of Pestalozzi's method. They took pains to observe accurately, and then gave a detailed and thoroughly favourable report. They recognise that the sources of human happiness lie in the exercise of strength, in successful effort, and in the sense of personal improvement which follows upon success, and find that these sources have been made accessible in Burgdorf. "With what grateful respect will the child trust itself to the hand that guides it so gently and surely into the way of a reasonable life! Anyone who has seen in the Institute in Burgdorf the cheerfulness, the confidence of the pupils and their intimate but respectful attachment to the teachers can obtain an idea of this." Ith points out that the Institute is intended for the lower classes and that therefore a certain frugality is a subject rather of respect than of reproach. He emphasises the fact that Pestalozzi had to begin without help and credit and has only received small support since, and that further almost a sixth part of the pupils live at the expense of the Institute. "The thing is really serious to a high degree" continues Ith, "and seems to me to command the interest of all good, wise and powerful men. I was myself exceedingly suspicious on my first visit. I came with the firm determination neither to let myself be blinded by a brillant theory nor surprised and deceived by a few striking tests. Only after I had, at the end of a critical examination, found the theory correspond

to my knowledge of anthropology and psychology, had found, moreover, this theory confirmed by experiment, and the experiments fully comprehensible in the light of the theory, did I pass from doubt to conviction with the full consciousness of what I was doing."

Ith recommends national education on Pestalozzi's lines, and hopes that by means of the method a bond can be created between the nations which shall be infinitely stronger than all diplomatic alliances. And then he addresses himself to the Government:

"We shall only be able to believe that the Government takes the ennoblement and the happiness of the people with real earnestness when it makes of national education a matter of prime importance. As long as it remains what it is, your revolutions will only plunge you deeper into slavery and misery; your constitutions are mere spiders' webs; your improved legislation useless to men who have not been made fit for it." According to Ith, Switzerland needs national education more than any other country, but on the other hand, it is more possible in Switzerland than anywhere else. "Here, or nowhere, its results will be rapid, important, and beneficial."

The result of Ith's report was that by a decision of the Executive Council, Pestalozzi's school-books were protected by copyright, and an annual pension granted to Krüsi and Buss, the teachers at the Institute. It was of great importance that twelve places for the training of teachers were proposed in Pestalozzi's Institute, that training courses were subsidised by the State, and the length of the courses fixed at at least four months.

Before these decisions could be put into effect, however, the *Mediationsacte* of the First Consul of the French Republic was signed in Paris, by which in Switzerland the united State was again replaced by a Federation of nineteen States, no place being left for a central government. Yet Pestalozzi's friends among the Helvetian authorities, Meyer von Schauensee, Stapfer, Rengger, Dolder, Füssli, Legrand, Mohr, Laharpe must at least be credited with having helped the ideals of the great philanthropist to make themselves felt. The little plant had taken root and grew, in the following years, into a mighty tree.

Full of gratitude for this help, Pestalozzi wrote to Stapfer, who was staying in Paris: "I stood there like a stone lost in the wilderness — you touched me with the rod of your authority, and there flowed from my barren sand a spring of water, the existence of which I had never suspected in my depths. Dear Stapfer, I am eternally grateful to you for this ministerial stroke. My friend,

we thought we had sown a little seed to feed the poor in our immediate neighbourhood, and we have planted a tree whose branches spread over the earth and will unite all the peoples of the world, without exception, under its shade. It is not my work. It is the work of God. Mine was the love with which I sought what I did not know, and the faith with which I believed what I did not see... Love did that — it has a divine power when it is true, and does not fear to take up its cross."

The confidence of his fellow-citizens in Zurich had elected Pestalozzi as member of the *Consulta* which was to consider with Napoleon Bonaparte, the first Consul, the form of government best adapted to Switzerland. Politically, the result was quite different from what Pestalozzi and his friends hoped. Pestalozzi never came into personal contact with Napoleon; he had already returned home when Bonaparte finally received the Swiss delegates. Pestalozzi only heard indirectly that the First Consul had declared that he could not take up his time with the Abc. But on the other hand, the Paris journey had other fruits: firstly a clear statement of the method, destined for the friends in France, secondly the acquaintance with eminent men, as for instance, Kosciuszko the Pole, the Comte de Lezay, who actively endeavoured to introduce Pestalozzi's method into France, Bishop Grégoire of Blois, who was deeply interested in Pestalozzi's ideas on popular culture, and above all with young Johannes von Muralt of Zurich, whose fate was now linked with Pestalozzi's for many years. In the house of Stapfer, and of his Zurich friend Schweizer, Pestalozzi was affectionately welcomed during his stay in Paris; yet he longed to return to his Swiss home. "My days are numbered" he wrote from Paris to his chief collaborators, Krüsi and Buss, "but I shall live in you and work through you. Honour and thanks to God who strengthens my age and weakness by your help."

Pestalozzi's whole activity for the next years was concentrated on his method, but the method itself was the fruit of his deepest conception of the being of man and of his insight into the connections between political, economic and moral life.

THE FRIENDS OF THE METHOD

In October 1803, Anton Gruner came to Burgdorf. A journey which he had been obliged to undertake for the sake of his health was arranged to give him at the same time the opportunity of studying Pestalozzi's method as practised by its creator, in order that he might oppose it the more thoroughly. Gruner had studied theology, philosophy and pedagogy in Göttingen, and as a student in Jena, had founded among his fellow-students a society for practical morality. With a pupil who had been entrusted to his care, he went to Salzmann, the director of the *Philanthropin* in Schnepfental. As Salzmann's assistant, he had had, for three months, the opportunity of seeing the light and dark sides of the establishment. He regarded himself henceforth, as he says in his *Briefe aus Burgdorf*, which he dedicated to Salzmann, as a disciple of the most eminent teachers and educators of the epoch. Their pedagogic system seemed to him to be the last word in method, and he could not imagine that anything remained to be discovered beyond their methods of teaching and the means by which they taught. He was not fully satisfied with Pestalozzi's books: he found them obscure, while the elementary books seemed to miss the connection between the detail and the whole.

But Burgdorf had other experiences in store for Gruner. He had not long been there when connections became clear to him that he had not yet recognised; he saw a new manner of dealing with the child mind, and many other interesting and important elements in the method which seemed to him to promise a "splendid success". The *Briefe aus Burgdorf* show clearly the pains that Gruner took to make himself acquainted with the method. He reports in detail on its essential points, on its general effects and on its results in single subjects. The pupils were extraordinarily advanced in arithmetic. Outsiders practised in the subject were often incapable of "keeping up with the children". The influence of the method on the whole character of the pupil was clearly to be seen. "Peasant lads who came to Burgdorf two years ago quite uneducated and with no special talent, though with plenty of willingness and simple receptivity for the teaching, are already quite useful assistant teachers." Gruner praises the self-possession of their demeanour and the pedagogic skill with which they handled their pupils. We owe to him the description of the impressive morning hours in the Schloss at Burgdorf, during which Pestalozzi gathered round him a little group of pupils and spoke

with them of their duty to themselves, to their parents and friends, to all whom they could help. The awakening of the Institute to the new day seems to him "moving and edifying". As moving as the beginning of the day is the evening, when Pestalozzi again gathers round him his pupils, speaks to them "with fatherly emotion and joy" of the day, and, glad of his weariness and of his day's work, goes to his rest "as a just man to his eternal repose".

Through Gruner, we also know something of the teachers who were already working with Pestalozzi at this time, the most important being Krüsi, Buss, Tobler, von Muralt and Niederer. Hermann Krüsi was a native of Appenzell. After the early death of his father, he had provided for his mother and the rest of the family by all kinds of manual labour; though he had had practically no education, he became a teacher in the village, and at the time of the rise in prices, he brought a crowd of the poor children he had taught to Burgdorf. There he first worked under the direction of Johann Rudolf Fischer; after the latter's death, he joined Pestalozzi. Gruner praises his modesty and gentleness. "He is quiet, profound, indefatigably active, and firm. He understands his pupils, and children in general, admirably, and is remarkably clever in dealing with them." Georg Tobler, like Krüsi, came from Appenzell. While working as a factory hand, he had managed to educate himself so well that, when only twenty-three years old, he had been able to go to the University in Basle to be trained as a private teacher. He was brought to Burgdorf by Krüsi. Gruner appreciates above all in him his faculty for observing the children; his favourite plan was to practise observation on a group of children who were in his charge. He was devoted to Pestalozzi and his cause with a whole heart and a single mind, without personal claims or rivalry. The two Swiss assistants were joined by Johann Christian Buss, of Tübingen, a bookbinder by trade. Krüsi and Tobler introduced him to Pestalozzi. According to Gruner, he was "highly gifted in many ways, but especially for art"; the teaching of drawing was therefore handed over to him. His tireless activity, his energy and strength caused him to be greatly respected among the children, towards whom he, on his side, showed an "admirable patience". Johannes Niederer was already in charge of a parish when he decided to go to Burgdorf. Gruner thus describes his relations with Pestalozzi: "Pestalozzi is a man after his own heart, the man he sought for. With the intimate conviction that the method will contribute considerably to the welfare of mankind, and that he, Niederer, is called upon to assist its progress, development and success, he gave up his parish and joined Pestalozzi." As we

shall see, Niederer certainly regarded himself, even before he came to Burgdorf, as the defender of Pestalozzi and his method; he very soon came to regard himself, as his official biographer too. "He means much to Pestalozzi" continues Gruner, "with his warm heart full of noble enthusiasm for good, full of active, living feeling, with his powerful, penetrating way of thinking." — To these we might add Johannes von Muralt. Gruner came to know the "noble youth" the most intimately of all. He had, as we have seen made the acquaintance of Pestalozzi in Paris. "The noble old man attracted the noble youth." Von Muralt refused honourable and safe offers, he defied the prejudices of friends and acquaintances when he came to Burgdorf. "He became a teacher at the Institute, and still teaches there with a rare disinterestedness, from pure devotion to truth, right, and Pestalozzi. I have seen few young men like him, few in whom so many qualities were united. Young men seldom know the world as he knows it. Still fewer know the world as he does without being of the common herd. What a sense of good and truth, what a love of candour, what joy in innocence I found in him and united with what warmth, with what intelligence!" Johannes von Muralt was, of the teachers in Yverdon and Burgdorf, the one for whom Anna Pestalozzi, with her quiet intellectual distinction, felt the deepest affection.

Without mentioning his name, Gruner speaks of Joseph Schmid, who came from the Vorarlberg to Pestalozzi in Burgdorf, and so far mastered the method that he was regarded as the most capable teacher in mathematical subjects. He soon won for himself, by his energy, a leading position in the Institute; there was a time when Pestalozzi and even Niederer saw in him the saviour of the Institute, and in the last years of his life, Pestalozzi was entirely under the influence of Schmid, who was connected with the Pestalozzi family by the marriage of his sister with Pestalozzi's grandson.

In Burgdorf and in Yverdon at its best time, this circle of collaborators was united with Pestalozzi and among themselves in their common striving towards a goal which meant so much to them all, by a strength, a self-sacrifice, a devotion, a friendship, which made a profound impression on almost all visitors. Pestalozzi himself once called the time in Burgdorf the happiest of his life; he spoke to Gruner too of his good fortune. "Am I not happy" he said to his visitor more than once, "to have such friends?" "Has Providence" asks Gruner "united these men on that rock — the castled hill of Burgdorf — to no purpose?" And at the conclusion of his *Briefe aus Burgdorf*, he continues, "Often, when, on my lonely walks I stood on a height which

lies opposite to the Castle of Burgdorf, on my left the majestic snow-mountains, on my right the Jura, at my feet the Emme flowing through the fertile plain, my spirit kindled by this scene of mild sublimity, and my heart full of a religious feeling born of it, and of my whole mood in Burgdorf, I thought, does not a guiding Providence destine that from the union of such men and such minds within these ancient walls, a new happiness should extend over mankind?" While Pestalozzi's method, he explains, strives on the one hand to awaken the intelligence by intellectual considerations, and to bring the poor man to the point at which he can help himself, yet, on the other hand, it teaches him by the realisation of moral values and by intimate experience of the conditions of human reciprocity that it is a crime against his nature to wish to help himself to the disadvantage of his fellows. Thus it establishes human happiness and leads to the goal to which the human race should at least unceasingly strive — a universal peace!

Thus Gruner, who came to Burgdorf in a critical spirit, concludes his letters, which were destined to give publicity to the work which was being done in the old Kyburg castle. He had to be quoted fully here, not only because he studied Pestalozzi's work with great earnestness, but also because he is typical of a great number of visitors to Burgdorf and Yverdon, and finally because, through him, a whole circle of eminent men were made aware of Pestalozzi.

Gruner has tried to give a spiritual portrait of Pestalozzi; he tells us of his first meeting with him; what he experienced was experienced by dozens of visitors, so that we may here quote his brief description: "Pestalozzi is accessible to the visitor at any hour of the day; the remarkable man came towards me with friendliness, we grasped each other's hands, and at the same moment, I felt singularly at ease." — "I had been told a great deal of Pestalozzi's terrifying and repulsive appearance, and it is true. His strongly-marked, powerful features, the lines and wrinkles in his face, his distorted eyebrows and the tension which is apparent in his whole being, in his look, in his movements, in his speech, all this casts no very lovely picture on the retina. But is the optic nerve not fed with warm heart's blood, and does it not stand, like every other nerve, in close connection with the heart and brain? Anyone who knows anything of the world and of the human soul, and has not allowed the sense of external beauty to blunt all other senses, must feel himself drawn to Pestalozzi by heart and mind just because the man has these lines on his face and this tension in his countenance."

In one of the last letters from Burgdorf, Gruner calls Pestalozzi "a highly gifted man of feeling, who has remained true to his nature as few have done, who lives in charity and love. ... Nature has endowed the soul of this man with the most burning love of right, the most living charity to man. She has also given him every intellectual power in a high degree. Pestalozzi could have become what he liked; he would have been great in everything. ... But charity and love awoke in his heart, and gained the mastery."

About the same time Niederer received an equally powerful impression of Pestalozzi. In December 1803, he writes to a friend: "When I stand by the side of Pestalozzi, I seem to be standing by the side of a hero of antiquity. The intelligence of Pythagoras, the wisdom of Plato are revealed to me: I seem to be looking into the souls of these demi-gods, I seem to hear the voice of their spirits, and see their truth reborn." And in a letter to his mother: "Pestalozzi carries himself like a man without his peer. Beside him, one feels as nothing." But to the Ecclesiastical Council of Berne, Niederer wrote: "Even in its mere conception, Pestalozzi's idea is great. ... Our country will recognise him, and make its realisation possible."

Shortly after his return from Burgdorf, Gruner took over the model school at Frankfort, and found the opportunity in this position not only to work on Pestalozzi's lines in his own school, but also to draw the attention of his many acquaintances to the Swiss pedagogue. Thus a whole circle of disciples and friends and admirers of Pestalozzi grew up in Frankfort. How far this may be attributed directly to Gruner cannot be said exactly; one thing, however, is certain, that he sent to Pestalozzi a young man who later became of great importance in pedagogy — Friedrich Fröbel. Fröbel had studied forestry and mathematics before he took up education; it was Gruner who had brought about the great change in his life by calling on him to become a teacher. In the late summer of 1805, Fröbel, "full of faith and inner fire" made the pilgrimage to "the holy city of education" — Yverdon — "from which he saw spreading over the whole of Europe a gospel of freedom and true happiness". Pestalozzi had been working in Münchenbuchsee for less than a year when he moved to Yverdon, on the lake of Neuenburg. On his first visit, Fröbel stayed only a fortnight. What he saw troubled and surprised him; he was unable to get a clear impression; he was sure of one thing only, that he had seen something unique. The effects of Pestalozzi's method of teaching filled him with enthusiasm. "Everything is alive, everything is activity, joy, delight!" He found the notes made by the teachers on the pupils

instructive. He left Yverdon in the middle of October 1805, "exhilarated and depressed", exhilarated by Pestalozzi's genius, depressed by the difficulty of getting a broad view of the whole, and by his own as yet imperfect judgment. What Pestalozzi wrote in Fröbel's album has become the motto of Fröbel's work:

"With the flame of thought,
And with the spark of speech,
Man marks out the way to his goal.
But he fulfils this way,
He fulfils himself,
Only in silence and action."

From this time on, Fröbel followed with profound interest everything connected with Pestalozzi and his work. He took much trouble to help a young man from his native Thüringen to study the method. He wrote to his brother Christoph in March 1808: "The spirit of Pestalozzi's method does not kill, but bears intelligence and life, bears love and reverence for all creation. Something mighty, vaguely elevating and stimulating in Pestalozzi's words and speech, moved, encouraged, urged one on to the representation of a higher, nobler life. . . . Pestalozzi may be regarded in every way as the determining influence in Fröbel's life work, although Fröbel, on his second visit to Yverdon, where he came as tutor to the two von Holzhausen boys from Frankfort, saw the shortcomings of the Institute and devoted himself subsequently to precisely the age of childhood which seemed to him somewhat neglected in Yverdon, the age of play.

From the circle of friends in Frankfort, two may be selected who became of greater importance for Pestalozzi — Elias Mieg, and Karl Ritter the geographer. Mieg had studied theology and was an army chaplain in Karlsruhe when he made the acquaintance, during a short stay in Frankfort, of the banker J. J. von Willemer, and was asked by him to undertake the education of his son Brami. Willemer had actively occupied himself with philosophic and pedagogic problems and, according to Schnyder von Wartensee, was one of the most zealous Pestalozzi enthusiasts in Europe. So it came that Mieg, with his pupil, then twelve years old, moved to Yverdon in 1807. There Mieg became a teacher in the Institute, conducted, alternately with other teachers, the Sunday services in the Schloss, and soon came to be highly esteemed for his sincerity, his incorruptible honesty and his great practical skill. When he

left Yverdon with his pupil in 1810 to set out on a journey to France and Italy, Anna Pestalozzi recommended him to her friend Franziska Romana von Hallwyl in the following words: "My dearest friend, I pray you, see our dear good Mieg once again! He greatly desired to bid you farewell — our Mieg, who has made us and everybody about him so happy; he was everything to us, and more I cannot say of this perfect man who is as all men should be."

Karl Ritter had become friendly with Mieg during his time as tutor in the Bethmann-Hollweg family in Frankfort. A journey across the Alps to Milan which he undertook in the late summer of 1807 with his pupils and their mother gave him the opportunity of visiting Pestalozzi. What he saw and heard filled him with enthusiasm. On his return journey he wrote to Pestalozzi from Basle: "I cannot cross the Rhine to German territory without looking back with joy and sorrow to the place which seems to me my second homeland, and sending a greeting, hasty though it be, to the friends, eternally dear, which Heaven gave to me. I cannot tear myself from Helvetian soil without dedicating to you, my Father Pestalozzi, in the simplicity of my mind, a silent tear, which will tell you that I feel what you mean to mankind. Once more I yield to deep emotion and reverence in the land which Nature has adorned with her lovely gifts, that it may become the cradle of a better race of men. May my life in this new creation of yours never fade from my memory. Even if only by the firmer rooting of my belief in humanity, the time I have spent there will not remain worthless for the future."

After his return to Frankfort, Ritter worked for Pestalozzi's ideas with his former friends and teachers Salzmann and Guts-Muths in Schnepfental, and Niemeyer in Halle; he tried to interest Alexander von Humboldt in the Swiss pedagogue. He paid a tribute to Pestalozzi's work in the *Paedagogischen Bibliothek:* "I have seen more than the Paradise of Switzerland, I have seen Pestalozzi, a true disciple of Christ; I have felt his spirit and grown to love his heart. He bears within himself the man of every epoch, of every class, of every age, of every caste, the primal type of the humanity of man in perfect clearness."

Pestalozzi's fame filled the whole of Frankfort. Willemer decided to go to Yverdon on a surprise visit to Mieg and his son with his youngest daughter and Marianne Jung, his foster-daughter and second wife. A number of Frankfort families decided to entrust their sons to Pestalozzi, for instance Lejeune, de Bary, Van der Velden, Pelzer, Hellberger, Catoir, Panhuys, Mühlens. The *Pestalozzianum* possesses the letters which the Lejeune boys wrote to

their parents from Yverdon with the accompanying letters of Pestalozzi, Schmid, Mieg and Engelmann.

As with the circle of friends in Frankfort, Pestalozzi was in friendly relations with those who took up his work in Switzerland, Prussia, France, England and Spain. The spirit of this friendship is clearly to be seen in the letter written by Pestalozzi to the Prussian army chaplain Röckner, who was personally unknown to him. "Friend, we are united — we were united before we knew each other, and but few moments were required to make us feel it. ... The means by which God unites with me so many noble men are His work. I bore it in me, like a mother her child, but its form is not my work, and its happy birth is not my achievement Friends! the success of my wishes is the work of God — if it were my work, I would not beg you to join me in it, but now I beg you, give it all your strength so far as in my work there lies the work and the truth of God."

Of the German visitors to Yverdon, those with whom Pestalozzi became most intimately acquainted were von Türk, Henning, Ladomus, Blochmann; in France, General Jullien became his closest friend, in England, Greaves.

Henning published in the *Schulrath an der Oder* a comprehensive picture of the life in Yverdon. In November 1809, there were 137 pupils living in the Institute, while 28 lived outside. 78 were Swiss, the rest came from Germany, France, Russia, Italy, Spain and North America. In 1812, 23 teachers had already received their training at the Institute: von Muralt was working in St. Petersburg, Hofmann in Naples, Neef in Philadelphia, Barraud in Bergerac, Buss in Burgdorf, Hagnauer in Königsberg, Reichardt in Bavaria. A Pestalozzi Institute had been opened in Madrid under the regime of the Prince of Peace, though it was short-lived. After 1812, the centres of activity grew. In Dresden, Blochmann was working on Pestalozzi's lines, in Oldenburg, Ramsauer, in Berlin, Plamann, in Wiesbaden, de Laspée, in Heidelberg, Kleinschmidt, in Zurich, Hans Georg Nägeli. Professor Schedius and the Countess Brunszvik were propagating Pestalozzi's ideas in Hungary, Stephan Ludwig Roth in Siebenbürgen. Catholic Switzerland was particularly represented by Lucerne. A circle of friends had already existed there for some time. Thaddaeus Müller, the parish priest, had made Pestalozzi's acquaintance at the meetings of the *Helvetische Gesellschaft*; at the time when Pestalozzi was working in Stans he was the leading personality on the Educational Council of Lucerne; in 1803 he visited the Institute in Burgdorf, and from that time on, he worked for the spread of Pestalozzi's method and for the introduction

of his school-books. In 1809, Joseph Karl Amrhyn, at that time *Staatsschreiber*, later Mayor, sent his eldest son Joseph Karl Franz Amrhyn, who subsequently became Federal Chancellor, to Pestalozzi's Institute, in which at that time the sisters Antonia and Luise Segesser were living. The latter was engaged to Niederer, the former became the second wife of Mayor Amrhyn. Pestalozzi's method was admired and applied in St. Urban's Monastery in Canton Lucerne. There Meinrad Kerler from the Monastery of Kreuzlingen in Thurgau made its acquaintance. He, with two other brothers, Nabholz and Wepfer, first extended their knowledge at the teachers' training courses at the Riedtli near Zurich, then applied to Pestalozzi himself. In October 1807, Nabholz came to Pestalozzi in Yverdon with a letter of recommendation from the Episcopal Vicar von Wessenberg. "Your ideas" this letter says "which embrace the alpha and omega of human culture, will spread of themselves among men, without the need of princely patronage."

So, indeed, from the inconsiderable seed which Pestalozzi sowed, a mighty tree had grown, even in his time, whose flourishing — as his letter to Stapfer shows — filled him with great joy and great humility. Certainly, his strength and that of his collaborators was insufficient to satisfy all the extensive claims which such a growth made upon them. But what had anchored itself in the heads and hearts of hundreds, could no longer disappear.

THE OPPONENTS

A work so sharply in contrast with what had existed before, a work which claimed to create something new and universally valid, could not but meet with opposition. This opposition could arise in two quarters, either among the adherents of the old methods, or among those who themselves claimed to have discovered new methods. Pestalozzi had to suffer from both.

When "How Gertrud Teaches her Children" appeared, it was the pedagogic reformers of the previous decades, the *Philanthropisten* who protested, by casting doubts on the novelty of Pestalozzi's ideas. In the number of the *Bibliothek der pädagogischen Literatur* of May, 1802, we read: "Whoever, in our days, after the essence of education has been investigated by so many philosophical minds, after so many educators have tried to simplify and perfect educational methods, whoever claims to do more than either give isolated supplementary suggestions, or to combine the new discoveries into a well-ordered whole, whoever pretends to set up a perfectly new system, which turns the old to ridicule, might easily pass for a charlatan, if it were not Pestalozzi. It is a unique phenomenon that a man so universally respected in Germany as the author of *Lienhard und Gertrud* should attempt such an undertaking without being a pedagogic charlatan."

Pestalozzi must have felt this very keenly. But criticism became still sharper when the *Elementarbücher* appeared. Pestalozzi was accused of having devoted too little attention to previous achievements in the field of pedagogy. "If Pestalozzi would only travel about a little, and see some of the excellent educational establishments for the poor, as, for instance, the Raths-Freischule in Leipzig, he would be a little more modest in his estimation of what he has done and what he will do, would no longer despise and reject everything which lies outside of his own narrow horizon, but consider how to repair the insults which are the result of ignorance." The insinuation is clear; the authors think that their own work of several decades has been overlooked, and will not recognise what is new in Pestalozzi's method. "I do not understand the critics of the method" writes Wolke, the spokesman of the *Philanthropisten*, "when they find in Pestalozzi's publication "How Gertrud Teaches her Children" anything beyond what I have aimed at and really practised ever since the beginning of my pedagogic career." Gruner had

thought so too at one time; he had come to Burgdorf, and realised that there was something new. We know that it was precisely to his friends among the *Philanthropisten* that Ritter, after his visit to Yverdon, had turned, in order to convince them of the value of Pestalozzi's method.

Still harder to bear than the depreciation on the part of the *Philanthropisten*, must have been that which came from his own country. Johann Rudolf Steinmüller, Pastor of Gais, who had himself sent Krüsi to Burgdorf with a crowd of poor children, originated it. In 1801/02, as Educational Councillor of the Canton of Säntis, he had arranged a teachers' training course, which had obtained the acknowledgment of the *Kleiner Rat*. He therefore saw in Pestalozzi a competitor. In reading Steinmüller's elucubrations in the *Neues St. Gallisches Wochenblatt*, one cannot avoid the impression that they are inspired by envy. They consist of ill intentioned, incoherent remarks on single teachers, single pupils, single arrangements, without any attempt to penetrate further, to understand or to make others understand. Niederer, who was on the point of going to Pestalozzi, took up his pen in Pestalozzi's defence, as often later, with great zeal and exaggerated asperity. This may have caused Steinmüller to return to the charge with increased energy. This time he attacks Pestalozzi personally. "Pestalozzi promises things never seen or heard of before. It would be superfluous to give my fellow-citizens a description of the remarkable man who sets himself up to be the pedagogic miracle-worker of our age, or to give details of the miserable situation in which he has spent most of his life. He has always been eccentric, in the fullest sense of the word, and the slovenliness of his dress and of his whole person has already shocked many people. He passed the best years of his life in reflection, and in attempting to relieve the misery of the people, and the more his plans failed, the more discontented he grew with the men among whom he lived."

Thus Pestalozzi's fate was reflected in the mind of Steinmüller, whose own friends felt the impropriety of the attack. Johannes Büel of Stein am Rhein felt called upon to write a letter to Niederer, containing an appreciation of what Pestalozzi had achieved, and Steinmüller's friend, Escher von der Linth, quite frankly deprecates the tone of the book. "Truly, your heart was not in the noble mood in which you wrote the preface, and your head must have been tired. In a tone of censure, you call Pestalozzi eccentric, and reproach him with his personal untidiness. But Pestalozzi is not eccentric by

affectation, and comfort in uncleanliness is by no means the cause of the negligence of his appearance. Poverty, and the use of his strength in the service of others more than in the enjoyment of his own life are the cause of this bad habit. I bow with reverence before the man, who, instead of living a comfortable life, goes out on to the highway, begs the beggars to give their children, and tries to humanise them ..."

Steinmüller had passed exactly one hour in the Schloss at Burgdorf!

But Pestalozzi was still more deeply wounded by the attacks from Berne and from his own native town. Karl Ludwig v. Haller of Berne had, in his attack in the *Göttinger Gelehrten Anzeigen* accused Pestalozzi of teaching the pupils in his Institutes to reject the Christian religion and to hate their natural superiors, and of fostering discontent with social conditions and revolutionary inclinations. Canon Bremi followed up these accusations by publishing in *Bürklis Freitagszeitung* three dozen questions which threw an unfavourable light on Pestalozzi's and especially on Niederer's efforts. What wounded Pestalozzi most was that the censor passed the attacks on him and his Institute, but stopped the contributions of his friends and assistants. The Prussian pupils sent a short statement to the Berne papers in which they, as unprejudiced witnesses, replied to the attacks of Haller; on his own initiative, *Geheimrat* Delbrück made a kind of reply to the Zurich attacks, after having personally examined the real state of things in Yverdon; the censor forbade the publication of these statements. "I cannot conceal the fact," Pestalozzi wrote at this time. "I am deeply hurt that the most dangerous insinuations published against myself and my work, that the worst that has been done to destroy my house and my Institute, should be conceived and created in my native town, and printed under its protection."

We must not, however, forget that this was the Zurich of 1812, in which there was a strong tendency to react to the conditions prior to 1798. Zurich at a later epoch honoured Pestalozzi, and helped his ideas to make their way.

Pestalozzi's deepest grief came to him in his own circle when those to whom he wished to entrust his work quarrelled between themselves and drew him into the dispute. He had with Niederer, whom he had called "my Johannes", a lawsuit on matters of property which lasted for years; Rosette Kasthofer, to whom he had handed over the Girls' Institute, was drawn into the dispute as Niederer's wife. And Biber's libel, written for Niederer and with

Niederer's collaboration was his death-blow. Truly, if friendship brought him many noble joys, it brought him too the bitterest griefs.

But what Johannes von Müller said in these days "His enemies will die — he, never" has proved true. Who would speak to-day of the men who tried to make Pestalozzi's work despicable, if their names were not connected with that of Pestalozzi?

THE END

Even Pestalozzi's own contemporaries found the quarrel with his enemies, which Niederer carried on with particular asperity, unworthy of the great work which was to be done in Yverdon. Stapfer regretted that in the dispute with a few pedants strength should be wasted which might have better been applied to the solution of the principal problems involved in that work. When Nabholz heard that Niederer wished to write the biography of Pestalozzi, he advised him to draw a veil over those dark days. "Write only of what cheers the soul, edifies, instructs, enlivens. The name of Pestalozzi, the zealous, the loving, the noble, the tireless, stands written in flame in the history of mankind; preserve the honour of that name, with which are connected so many noble memories, and do not let us make the saddening experience, that need, unhappiness, misfortune could shadow the image of such a hero." Nicolovius expressed the feeling of the friends of Pestalozzi most beautifully when he wrote to him in 1817: "If I look back on your life since the first years in the Neuhof, I see certainly herculean strength, but I seek in vain the palm of victory and peace in your hand. In spite of the mighty love in your heart, and — let me say it — a superhuman purity from self-seeking and egoism, you were, in spite of yourself, involved in quarrels and disputes and senseless intrigues, and cannot take delight in your own inner holiness. What will they feel, who here on earth disturbed your peace and confounded your love, when you have been removed to the kingdom of eternal peace and the brightness of heavenly love? May everything in your circle resolve itself into harmony, and all recognise that your spirit is not with them if they do not love like you and sacrifice themselves like you.

"Posterity will judge between you and your enemies — I might almost say, between you and your work, so far as this, conditioned by the limitations of an evil time or earthly imperfections, prevents you from being rightly appreciated through your work. I thank God for your life, so far as it has touched mine, and so far as your work is for me a source of edification and inspiration..."

Nicolovius wrote again in 1821: "Whatever you have bitterly suffered in these last years serves to your glorification, and what comes to many only in later epochs, and among their posterity, has come to you in your life, namely that all that is transitory in your efforts and undertakings has dis-

appeared, and what is permanent alone has remained, pure and inviolable. If you should pass away in my lifetime, I shall grieve that the voice which so often called upon men to awake is dumb. But I shall see no quarrel over your body; your image will remain pure and clear among us and be recognised and revered by all that can see."

Pestalozzi succumbed to the attacks of his enemies. But in his last words there was pardon and reconciliation. They are contained in his will, and are as follows: "May my ashes bring the boundless passion of my enemies to silence, and my last words move them to do what is right, and to do it calmly, with seemliness and dignity as becomes men! May the peace to which I go also bring peace to my enemies. In everything I pardon them: I bless my friends, and hope that they will think with love of the departed, and use their best powers in the service of his life's work, even after his death."

Nabholz was present at the burial of Pestalozzi. He saw the dead man, whose countenance bore the expression of one awakening from deep sleep, whose lips are parting to tell his children a happy dream.

Thus Heinrich Pestalozzi died, reconciled.

The work, however, which grew out of his devotion, his searching, his suffering, and his doing, has now lasted a century. It is strong enough to bring blessings to many centuries to come.

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Dr. Hans Dommann, *Pestalozzis und Niederers persönliche Beziehungen zu Luzern.* Extract from the *Vaterland,* Lucerne 1927.

R. Stiebitz, *Friedrich Fröbels Beziehungen zu Pestalozzi in den Jahren 1805–1810.* Leipzig 1913.

Some hitherto unpublished letters, which were very kindly placed at my disposal, are to be included in the correspondence volume of the standard edition.

The present volume contains no portrait of Joseph Schmid, in spite of his importance for Pestalozzi, and his relationship with the Pestalozzi family, because the only extant portrait of this collaborator is a daguerreotype which shows Schmid on his death-bed, and is unsuitable for publication.

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PORTRAITS

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PORTRAITS OF PESTALOZZI

PORTRAITS OF PESTALOZZI

Plate 1 Drawing, circa 1769

» 2 Engraving by Pfenninger, 1781

» 3 Oil painting by Diogg, 1801

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» 11 Drawing by Schulthess, 1825

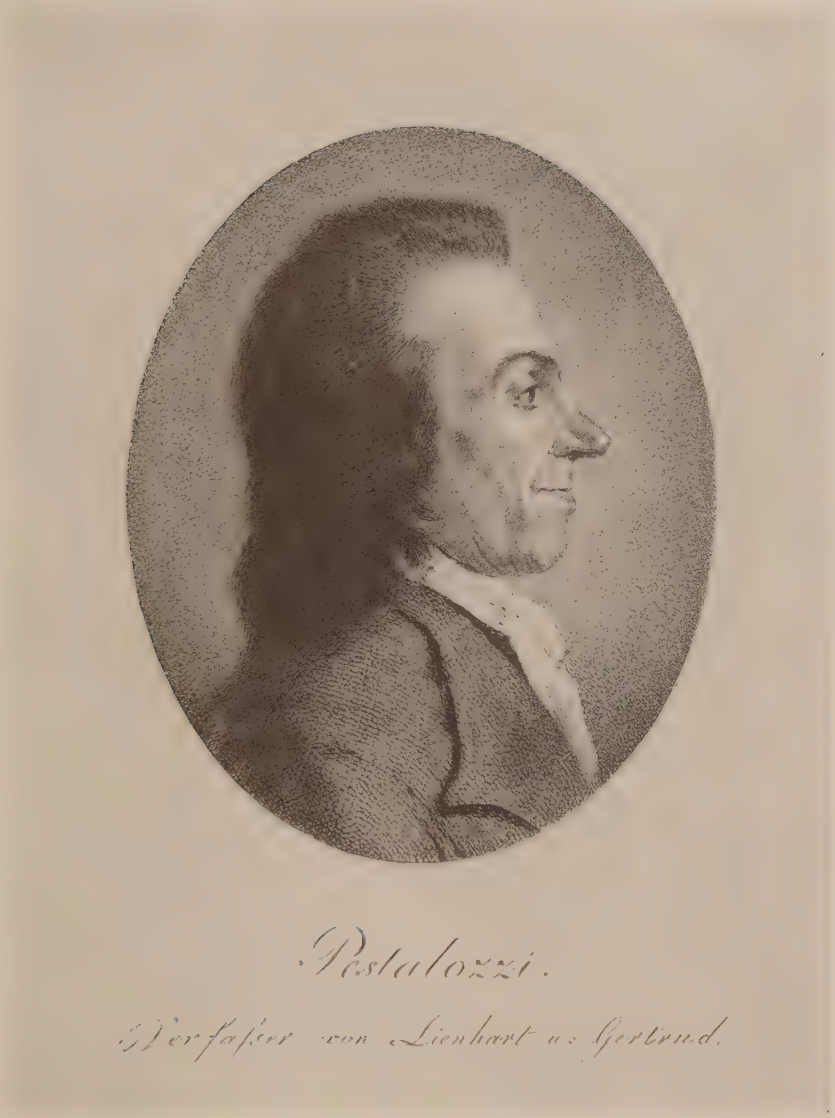
» 12 Alabaster Relief by Bodenmüller, 1823

» 13 Terra-Cotta Mask by Christen, 1809

JOH. HEINRICH PESTALOZZI

Drawing in the possession of the Zentralbibliothek, Zurich

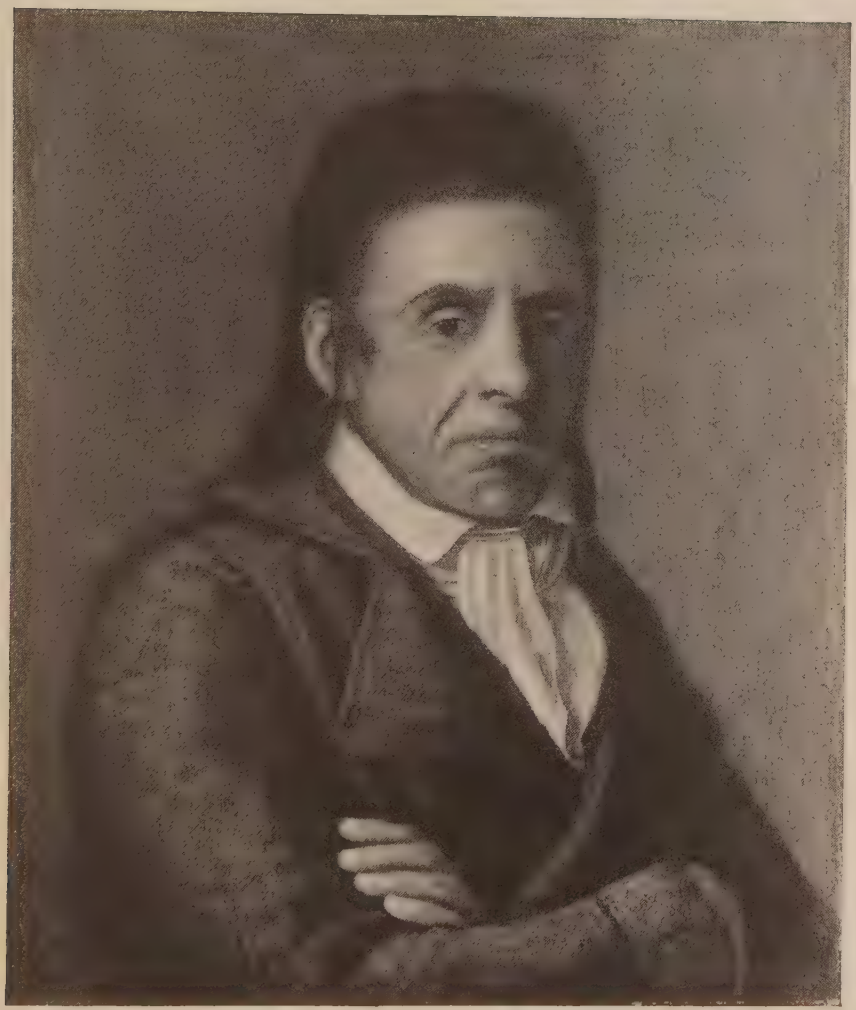
Earliest extant portrait of Pestalozzi with the manuscript note, *Heinrich Pestaluz im Berngebieth*, probably executed for Lavater's *Physiognomik* while Pestalozzi was staying in Mülligen.



JOH. HEINRICH PESTALOZZI

Engraving by H. Pfenninger in the possession of the Zentralbibliothek, Zurich

This engraving may date from 1781, when the first volume of *Lienhard und Gertrud* was attracting public attention to Pestalozzi.



JOH. HEINRICH PESTALOZZI

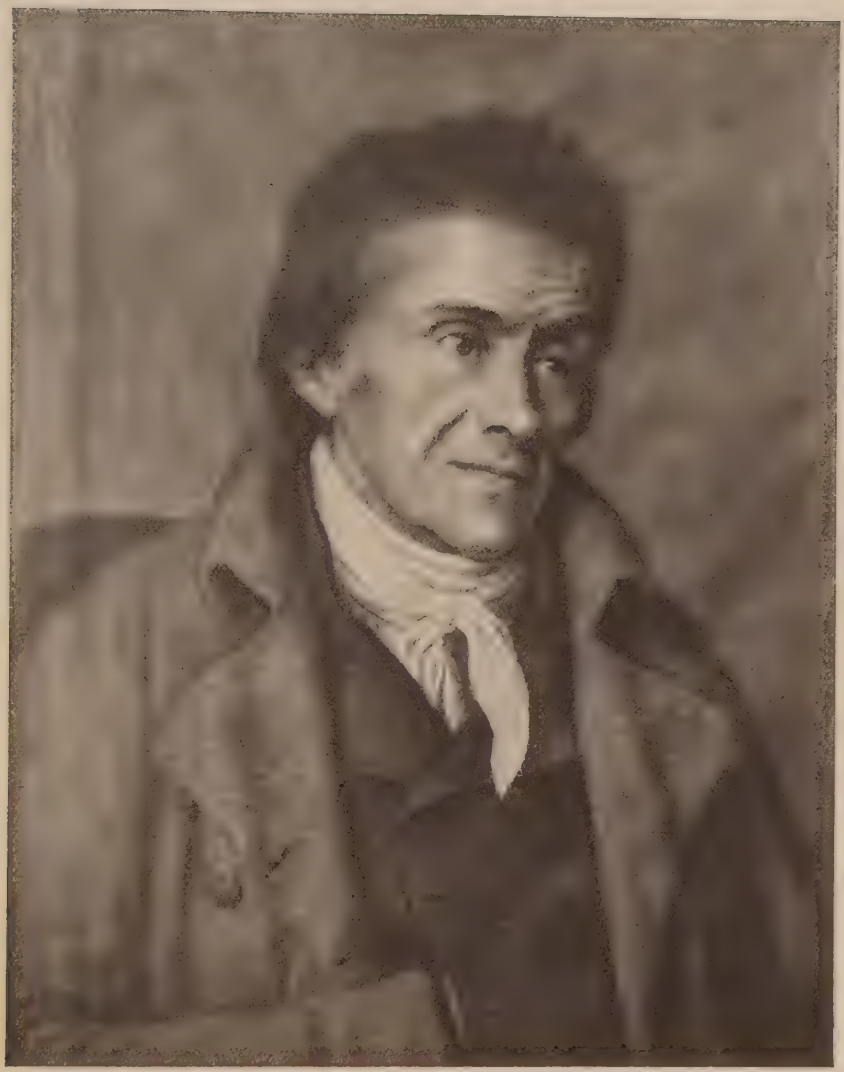
Oil painting by F. M. Diogg, 1801, in the possession of the Pestalozzianum, Zurich

JOH. HEINRICH PESTALOZZI

Oil painting by F. G. A. Schöner, 1808, in the possession of the Zentralbibliothek, Zurich, formerly the property of the Kawerau family

JOH. HEINRICH PESTALOZZI

Oil painting by F. G. A. Schöner, 1811, in the possession of the Pestalozzianum, Zurich, formerly the property of the von Türk family



JOH. HEINRICH PESTALOZZI

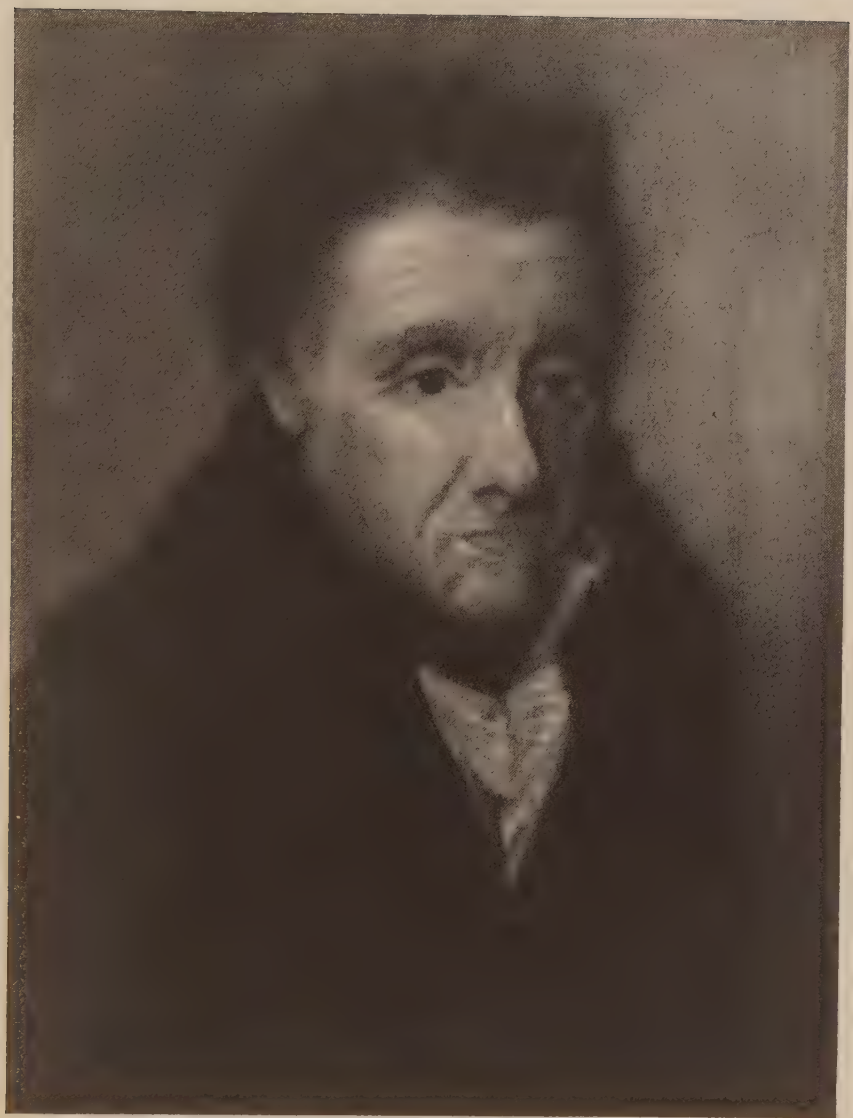
Oil painting by F. X. Ramos in the possession of the Academia de San Fernando Madrid

This portrait, which is regarded as one of the principal works of the Spanish artist, was almost certainly painted when Godoy the Prince of Peace was enthusiastically advocating Pestalozzi's ideas in Spain. Godoy possessed a portrait of Pestalozzi by Schöner, which may have served Ramos as original.

1746 _+_ 1827

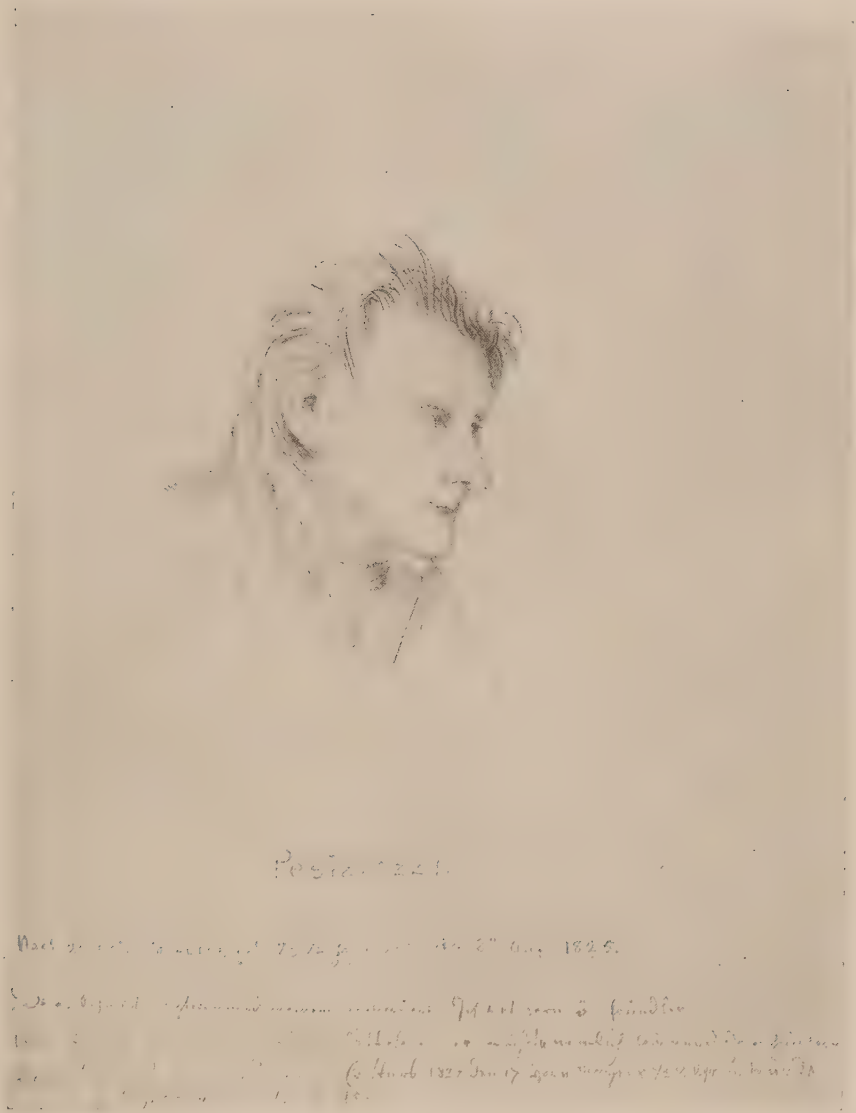
JOH. HEINRICH PESTALOZZI

Lithograph after a drawing by the Livonian artist G. A. Hippius in the possession of the Pestalozzianum, Zurich



JOH. HEINRICH PESTALOZZI

Pastel Portrait of the Yverdon period in private possession



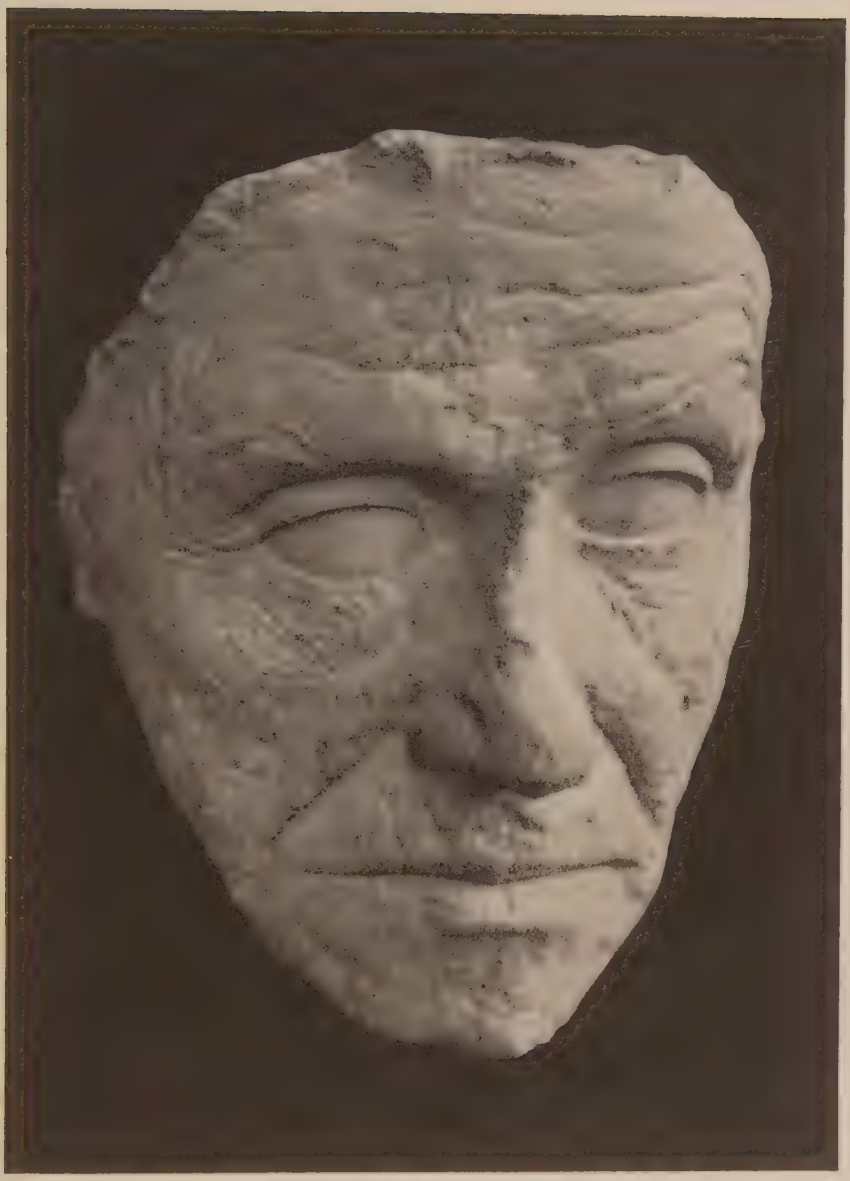
JOH. HEINRICH PESTALOZZI

Drawing by Karl Schulthess, 1825, in the possession of the Pestalozzianum, Zurich

Karl Schulthess (1775—1855) nephew of Pestalozzi's wife, made this draving of Pestalozzi after the latter's return to the Neuhof.

JOH. HEINRICH PESTALOZZI

Alabaster relief by B. Bodenmüller, 1823, in the possession of the Zentralbibliothek, Zurich



JOH. HEINRICH PESTALOZZI

Terracotta mask by J. M. Christen, 1809, permanent loan from the Gottfried Keller Foundation to the Pestalozzianum, Zurich

This mask, executed from life, was commissioned by Crown Prince Ludwig of Bavaria.

ANCESTORS AND FAMILY

ANCESTORS AND FAMILY

Plate 14 J. H. Hottinger

» 15 J. C. Wolf

» 16 J. B. Ott

» 17 Dr. J. Hotze

» 18/20 Anna Pestalozzi-Schulthess

» 21 Jakob Pestalozzi

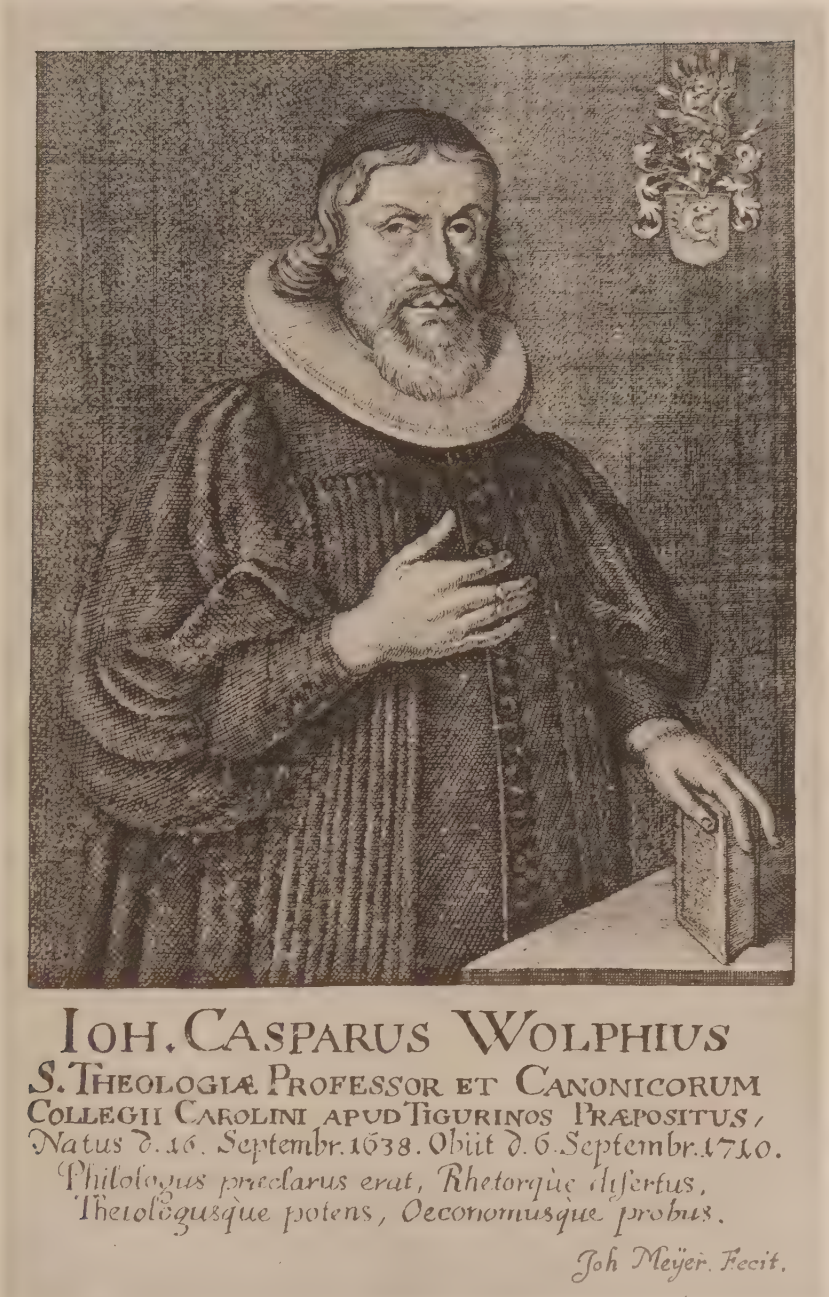
» 22 Anna Magdalena Pestalozzi-Frölich

JOH. HENRICUS HOTTINGERUS,
S S. THEOLOGIÆ D. ANTIQ. TIGUR. CAROLIN. PROF. ET P t.
RECTOR. SEREN. ELECT. PALAT. à CONSIL. SACRIS,
ÆTAT. XLV. A°. M. D C LXV.
DENATUS ANNO MDCLXVII. DIE V. JUNII.
Cerne, HOTTINGERI facies Venerabilis hæc est:
Fama Viri pulsat Solis utramq; Domum.
Conrad Meyer pinxit et fe

JOH. HEINRICH HOTTINGER 1620—1667

Engraving by Conrad Meyer in the possession of the Zentralbibliothek, Zurich

Grandfather of Pestalozzi's great-grandmother Dorothea Ott née Wolf, eminent scholar, one of the first Orientalists, studied in Geneva, the Netherlands, and England, which he visited in the company of Karl Ludwig, Elector of the Palatinate; in addition to church history, rhetoric and logic, taught Oriental languages at the Carolinum in Zurich, except during the years 1655 to 1661, when he was lecturing at the University of Heidelberg.


IOH. CASPARUS WOLPHIUS
S. THEOLOGIÆ PROFESSOR ET CANONICORUM
COLLEGII CAROLINI APUD TIGURINOS PRÆPOSITUS,
Natus d. 16. Septembr. 1638. Obiit d. 6. Septembr. 1710.
Philologus preclarus erat, Rhetorqùe disertus,
Theologusque potens, Oeconomusque probus.
Joh Meÿer. Fecit.

JOH. CASPAR WOLF 1638—1710

Engraving by Joh. Meyer in the possession of the Zentralbibliothek, Zurich

Father of Pestalozzi's great-grandmother Dorothea Ott, née Wolf, pastor of Seebach, subsequently canon, and professor of classical languages and theology at the Carolinum, Zurich.

JOH. BAPTIST OTT 1661—1742

Engraving by J. Lochmann after J. C. Ulinger, 1734, in the possession of the Pestalozzianum, Zurich

Pestalozzi's paternal great-grandfather, father-in-law of Pastor Andreas Pestalozzi of Höngg, archdeacon and canon of the *Grossmünster*, Zurich. In the *Schwanengesang* Pestalozzi refers to the similarity between his character and that of his great-grandfather.

DR. JOHANNES HOTZE 1734—1801

Oil painting by F. M. Diogg in the possession of the Zentralbibliothek, Zurich

Pestalozzi's cousin on his mother's side, son of the surgeon Johannes Hotz (1705—1776), physician at Richterswil, where he often gathered round him a circle of eminent friends, (Goethe among them) and passing travellers. Established from 1795 on in Frankfort.

ANNA PESTALOZZI-SCHULTHESS 1738—1815

Oil painting by F. G. A. Schöner, 1804, in the possession of the Argovian Government in Aarau

Daughter of Hans Jakob Schulthess (1711—1789) of Zurich, merchant and *Zunftpfleger*, married to Pestalozzi, after long resistance on the part of her parents, on September 30 th, 1769, in Gebistorf; his faithful and selfsacrificing helpmeet for 42 years.

ANNA PESTALOZZI-SCHULTHESS 1738—1815

Oil painting in the possession of the Pestalozzianum, Zurich

JAKOB PESTALOZZI 1770—1801

Water-Colour by M. Wocher, 1783, in the possession of the Pestalozzianum, Zurich

Pestalozzi's only son, brought up by his father according to the principles of Rousseau, later continued his education at Mulhausen, employed from 1785 on in the business of Pestalozzi's friend Felix Battier in Basle, finally settled at the Neuhof, married Anna Magdalena Frölich in 1791, but, always of delicate health, died young.

ANNA MAGDALENA PESTALOZZI-FRÖLICH 1767—1814

Pencil miniature in the possession of the Rittersaalverein, Burgdorf

Wife of Jakob Pestalozzi (d. 1801) and mother of Pestalozzi's only grandson Gottlieb (1797 – 1863): married for the second time, in 1804, Pestalozzi's collaborator Laurenz Jakob Custer; throughout her life a loyal co-operator at the Institutes and at the Neuhof.

EARLY FRIENDS

EARLY FRIENDS

Plate 23 J. C. Lavater

» 24 J. C. Füssli

» 25 H. H. Füssli

» 26 Ch. H. Müller

» 27 J. R. Schinz

» 28 J. C. Schulthess

» 29 J. C. Schweizer-Hess

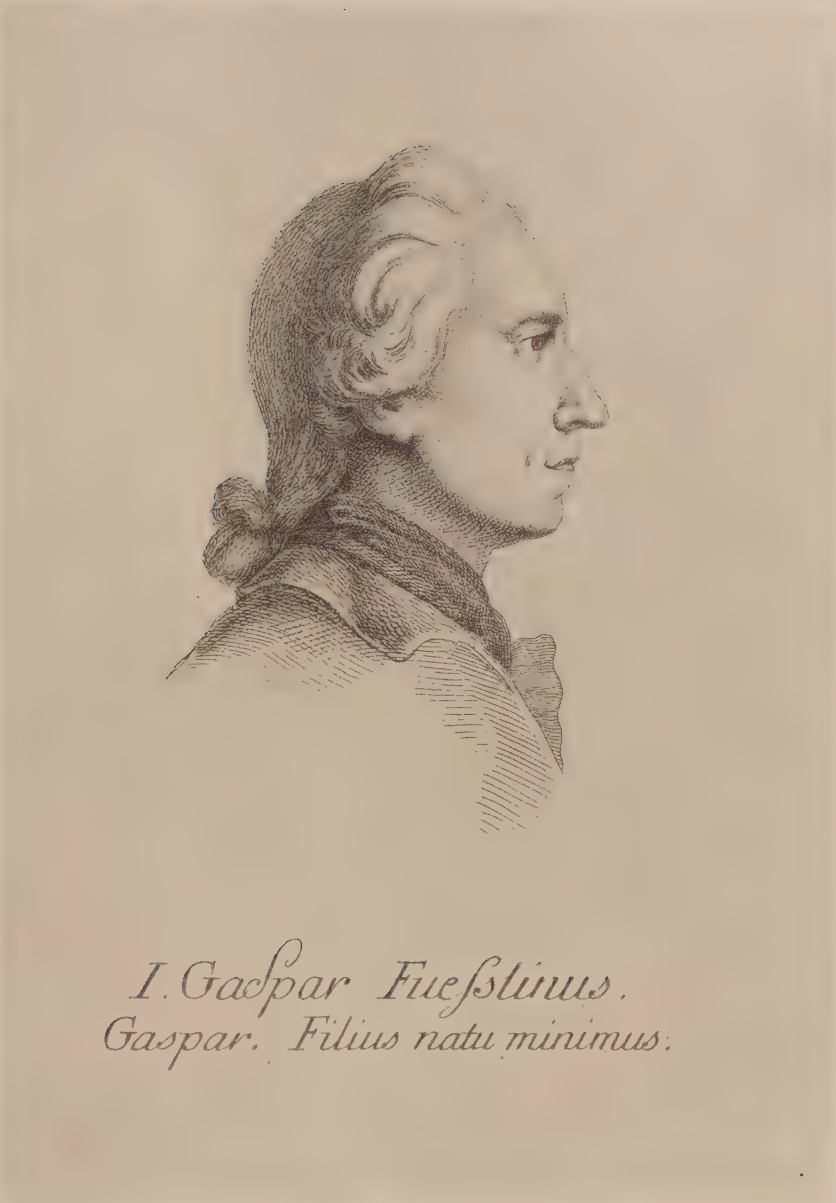
» 30 Magdalena Schweizer-Hess

» 31 D. Vogel

JOH. CASPAR LAVATER 1741—1801

Water-colour by H. Pfenninger, permanent loan from the Gottfried Keller Foundation to the Zentralbibliothek, Zurich

Pestalozzi's friend as member of the patriotic society *Zur Gerwe*, supported his courtship of Anna Schulthess, and secured his reception by Tschiffeli. In the *Stäfnerhandel* both stood for the rights of the country people. At the time of the *Helvetik*, Lavater recommanded his friend to the minister Stapfer.



JOH. CASPAR FÜSSLI 1743—1786

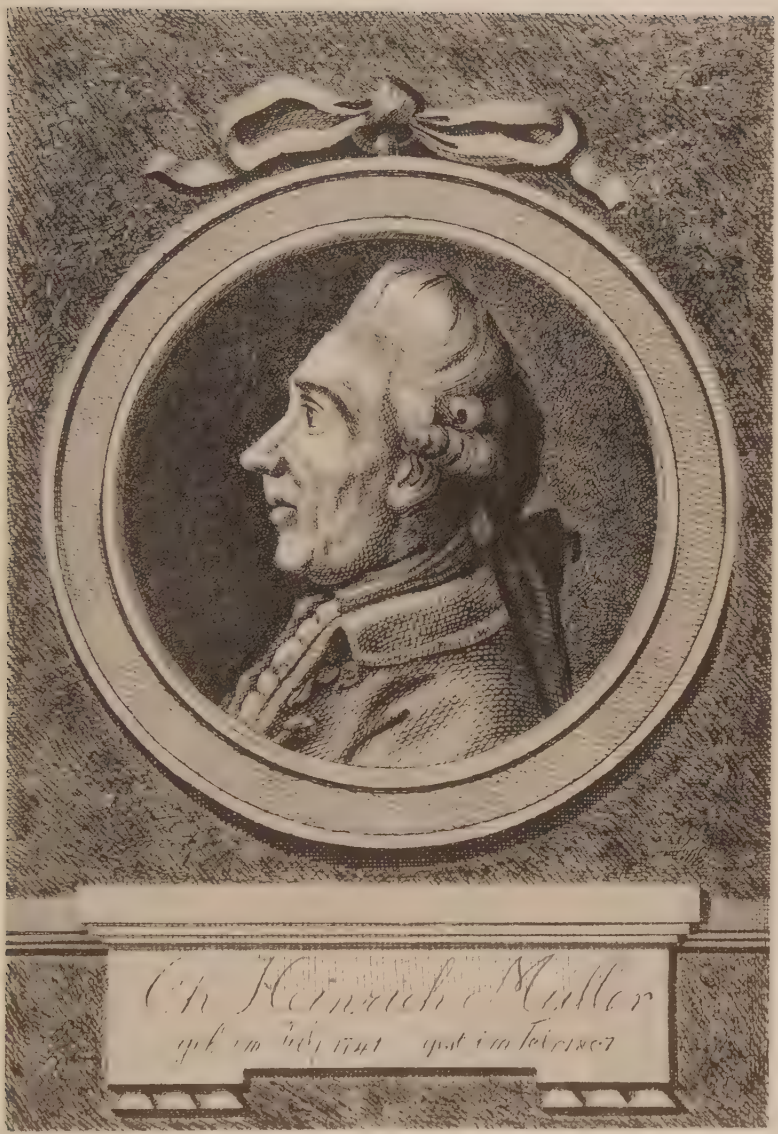
Engraving by J. R. Schellenberg in the possession of the Zentralbibliothek, Zurich

With Lavater, the closest friend of Pestalozzi's youth, became an artist, like his more famous brother, Joh. Heinrich Füssli (Fusely).

HANS HEINRICH FÜSSLI 1745—1832

Oil painting by F. M. Diogg, 1790, in the possession of the Zentralbibliothek, Zurich

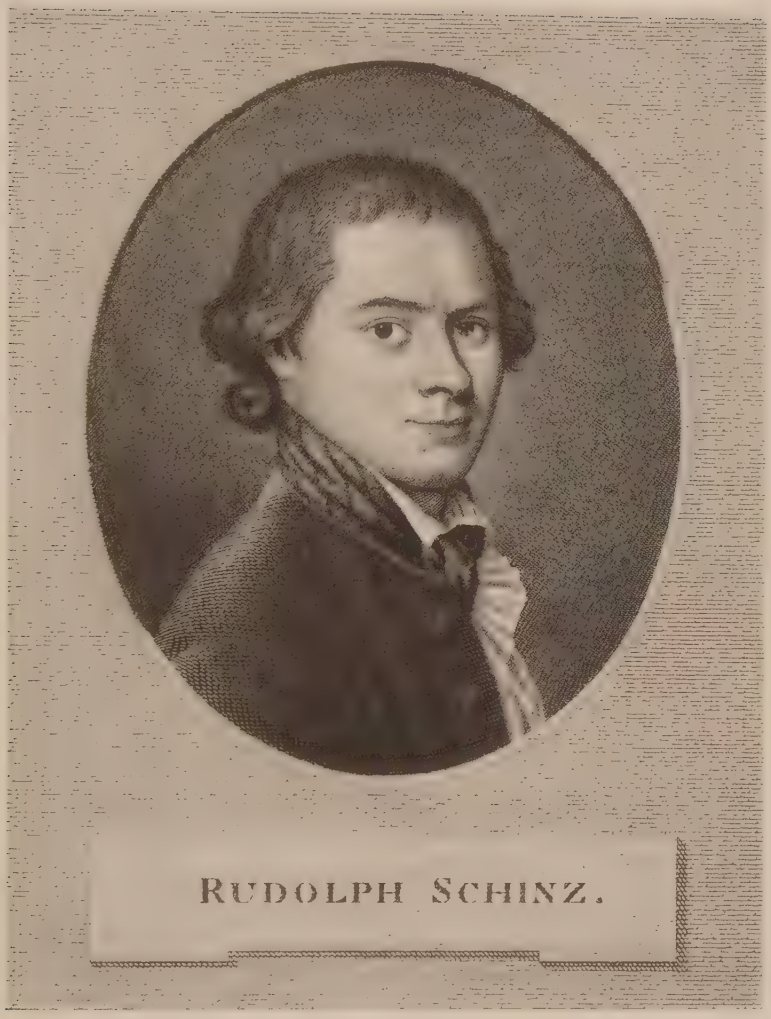
Later *Obmann Füssli*, Pestalozzi's fellow-pupil under Steinbrüchel, collaborator ot the *Erinnerer*, eminent statesman and historian.



CHRISTOPH HEINRICH MÜLLER 1741—1807

Engraving by C. Müller in the possession of the Zentralbibliothek, Zurich

The famous editor of the *Nibelungen* and other Middle High German poems, one of the patriots of Bodmer's circle; in 1767 wrote the revolutionary *Bauerngespräch*; pursued by the authorities on this account, he fled to Berlin. Pestalozzi, under suspicion of having abetted his escape, was twice examined on the charge of being his accomplice, and remained four days under arrest.



JOH. RUDOLF SCHINZ 1745—1790

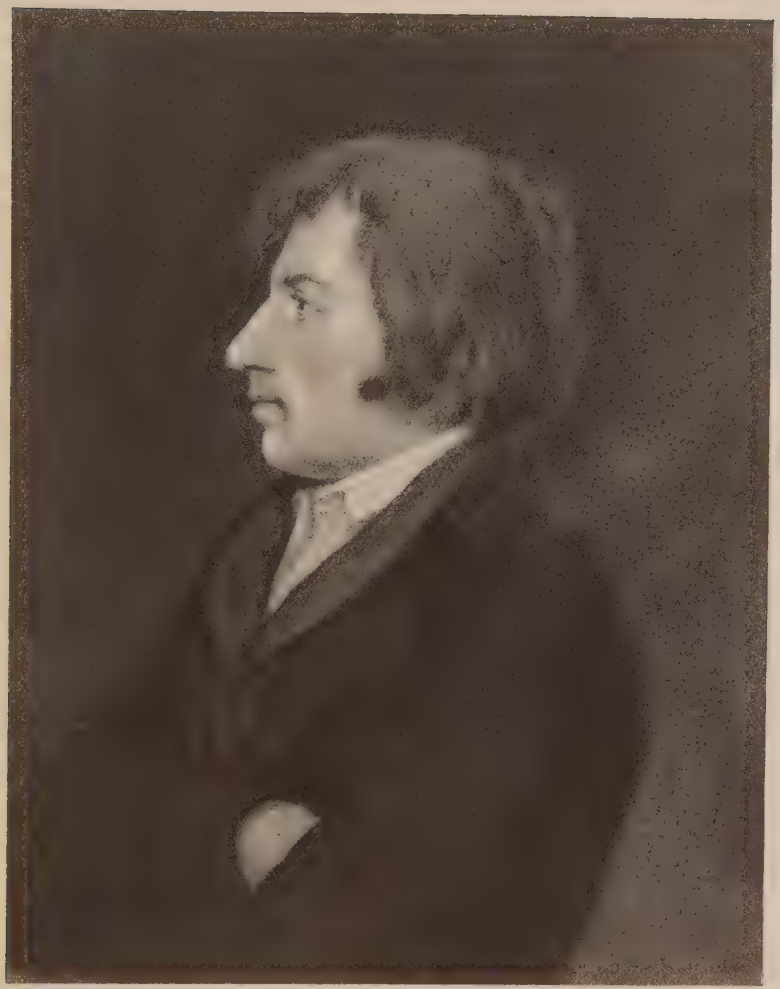
Engraving by S. Bäschlin after H. Lips in the possession of the Zentralbibliothek, Zurich

A school friend of Pestalozzi's, pastor of Uitikon; in 1873 composed for the *Helvetische Gesellschaft* the first biographical notices of Pestalozzi.

JOH. CASPAR SCHULTHESS 1744—1816

Contemporary pastel in private possession

Anna Schulthess's third brother, a friend of Pestalozzi's youth, for a short time pastor of Wurmberg, Wurtemberg, from 1770 to 1778 of Neuchâtel, then professor of French at the *Kunstschule*, Zurich, finally pastor again in Rheineck.



JOH. CASPAR SCHWEIZER 1754—1811

Pastel by James Sharples, copied by S. Henriette Füssli in the possession of the Pestalozzianum, Zurich

Merchant, later banker; with his talented wife Magdalena, née Hess, he received, in his house in the Oberer Hirschengraben Zurich, the intellectual élite of the town, including Pestalozzi, Lavater and Hotze, and many foreign guests, among others Goethe and the Duke of Weimar; moved to Paris in 1786, where he acquired influence as the friend of Mirabeau, and probably occasioned the grant of French citizenship to Pestalozzi in 1792.

MAGDALENA SCHWEIZER-HESS 1751—1814

Miniature by Elizabeth Pfenninger in private possession

Cousin of David Hess, the writer, wife of Schweizer.

DAVID VOGEL 1760—1849 with his son LUDWIG 1788—1879

Oil painting by H. Freudweiler, 1795, in private possession

Councillor Vogel, a confectioner by trade, was an advocate of the political reforms; a loyal friend to Pestalozzi throughout his life. His son is the famous artist Ludwig Vogel.

EDUCATION

EDUCATION

Plate 32 J. K. Heidegger

» 33 Joh. Gessner

» 34 J. J. Bodmer and J. H. Füssli (Fusely)

» 35 J. J. Breitinger

» 36 J. J. Steinbrüchel

» 37 J. G. Sulzer

» 38 H. C. Hirzel

» 39 J. Gujer, surnamed Kleinjogg

» 40 J. R. Tschiffeli

JOH. KONRAD HEIDEGGER 1710—1778

Oil painting by Johann Caspar Füssli in the possession of the Zentralbibliothek, Zurich

First *Säckelmeister*, then, in 1768, Burgomaster of Zurich; one of the most eminent statesmen of his time; interceded for Pestalozzi in his courtship of Anna Schulthess.

DR. JOHANNES GESSNER 1709—1790

Oil painting by J. R. Dälliker, 1749, in the possession of the Zentralbibliothek, Zurich

Appointed professor of mathematics 1733, of natural sciences 1738; one of Pestalozzi's teachers at the Carolinum, Zurich.

JOHANN JAKOB BODMER 1698—1783 and
JOH. HEINRICH FÜSSLI 1741—1825

Oil painting by J. H. Füssli, 1781, in the possession of the Kunsthaus, Zurich

Bodmer, appointed Professor of Swiss history at the Carolinum, Zurich, in 1725, had a decisive influence on Pestalozzi as teacher and as leader of the *Zur Gerwe* society. Füssli, later the celebrated painter Henry Fusely, who originally studied theology, was Pestalozzi's friend, and in 1782 persuaded him to begin writing.

JOHANN JAKOB BREITINGER 1701—1776

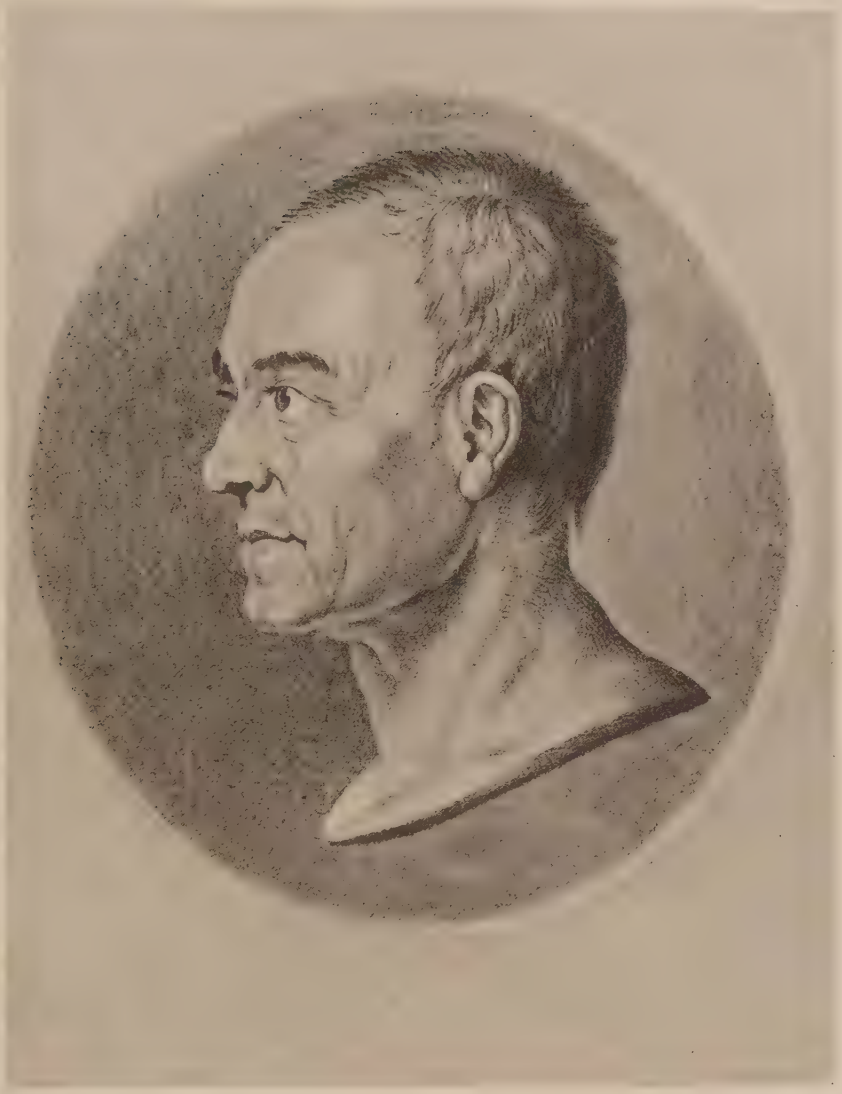
Engraving by J. J. Haid after Johann Caspar Füssli in the possession of the Zentralbibliothek, Zurich

With Bodmer, one of the leaders of the *Aufklärung* in Zurich; Pestalozzi's teacher as professor of Hebrew and Greek at the Carolinum, Zurich.

JOH. JAKOB STEINBRÜCHEL 1729—1796

Engraving by D. Beyel in the possession of the Zentralbibliothek, Zurich

Professor of Hebrew, later of Greek, at the Carolinum, Zurich; inspired his pupils, Pestalozzi among them, for the antique world.



JOH. GEORG SULZER 1720—1779

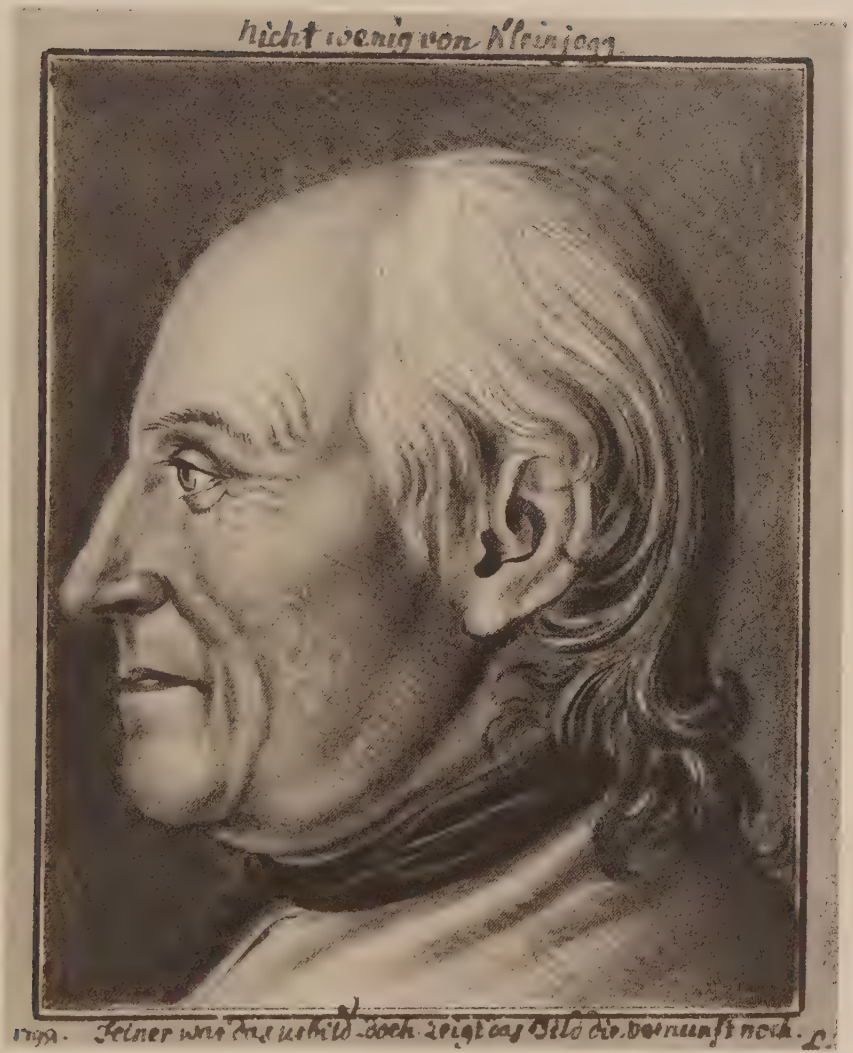
Pencil drawing by D. Chodowiecki in the possession of the Zentralbibliothek, Zurich

The well-known aesthetician, born in Winterthur; pastor of Maschwanden, then tutor in Magdeburg, finally professor at the Joachimstal High School, Berlin, member of the Academy of Sciences; as a young divine, composed the *Versuch einiger vernünftiger Gedanken über die Auferziehung der Kinder*, in which he anticipated a number of Rousseau's ideas.

DR. HANS CASPAR HIRZEL 1725—1803

Oil painting by F. M. Diogg, 1794, in private possession

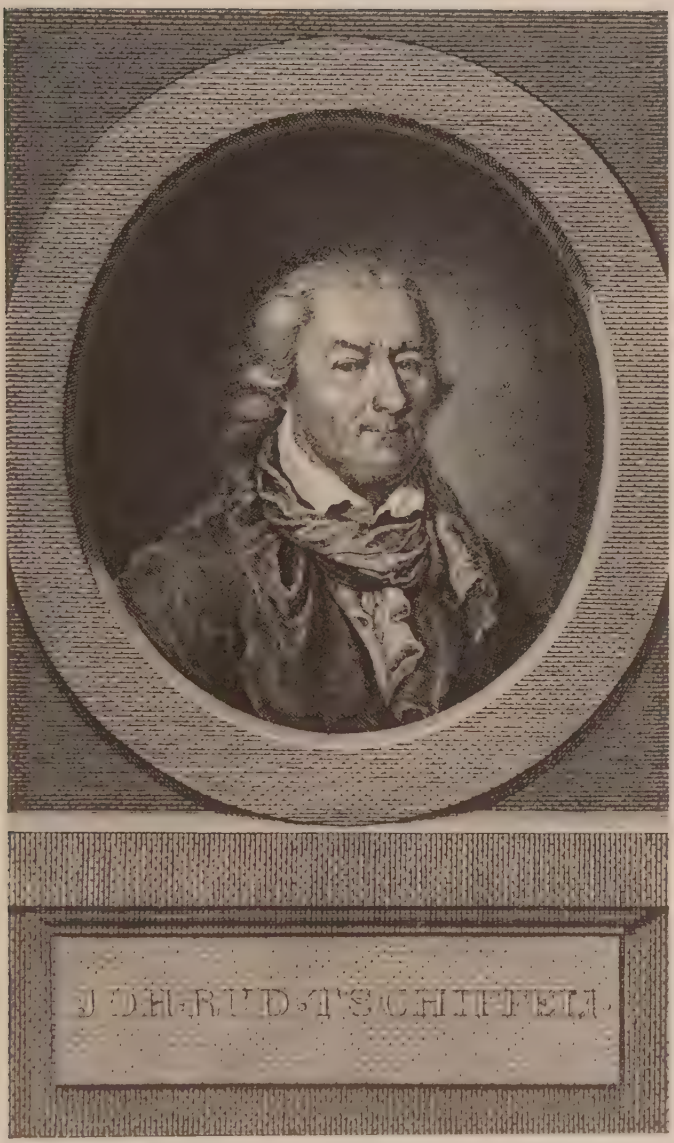
Municipal physician of Zurich, member of the *Kleiner Rat*, zealous promotor of agriculture, famous for his book on Kleinjogg, *Die Wirtschaft eines philosophischen Bauern*. Pestalozzi reported to him on his agricultural experiments at Kirchberg and the Neuhof.



JAKOB GUJER, surnamed KLEINJOGG, 1716—1785

Water-colour in the possession of the Zentralbibliothek, Zurich

Farmer at the Katzenrütihof, near Zurich; the original of Dr. Hirzel's "philosophic peasant". His example contributed considerably to Pestalozzi's decision to take up agriculture himself.



JOH. RUDOLF TSCHIFFELI 1716—1780

Engraving by A. L. Girardet after T. Wocher, 1808, in the possession of the Pestalozzianum, Zurich

In Tschiffeli's model establishment at Kirchberg, Berne, Pestalozzi studied agriculture from autumn 1767 to spring 1768.

NEUHOF PERIOD

NEUHOF PERIOD

Plate 41 D. von Fellenberg

» 42 V. B. von Tscharner

» 43 N. E. von Tscharner

» 44 I. Iselin and wife

» 45 F. Battier

» 46 J. Sarasin-Battier

» 47 Franziska Romana von Hallwyl

» 48 G. H. L. Nicolovius

» 49 J. G. Fichte

» 50 Leopold II.

» 51 S. v. Hohenwart

» 52 K. von Zinzendorf

DANIEL VON FELLENBERG 1736—1801

Oil painting by F. Oelenhainz, 1792, in private possession

Father of the founder of Hofwil, Councillor of Berne, member of the *Helvetische Gesellschaft*; from 1779 to 1785 *Obervogt* of Schenkenberg. From the Neuhof, Pestalozzi was in friendly intercourse with him.

VINZENZ BERNHARD VON TSCHARNER 1728—1778

Oil painting by E. Handmann, 1750, in private possession

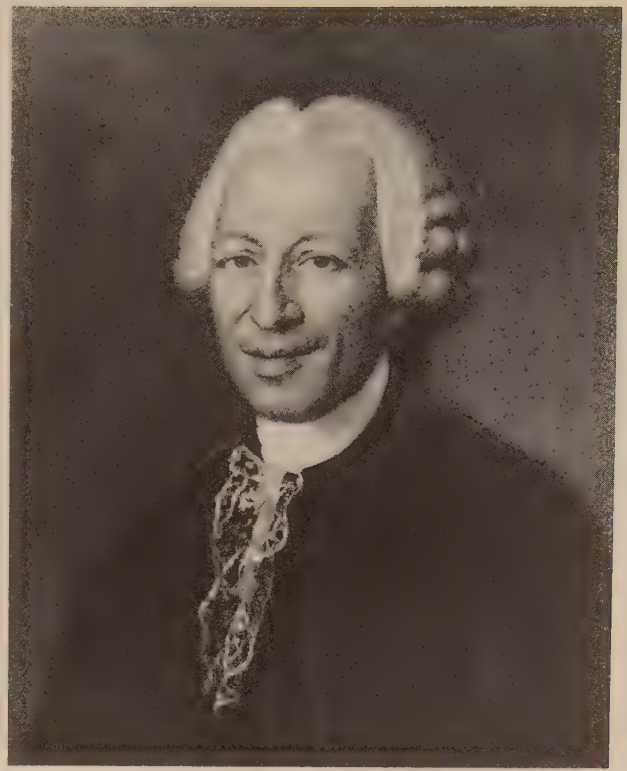
Landvogt of Aubonne from 1769 to 1775, one of the founders of the *Oekonomische Gesellschaft in Bern*, author of a history of Switzerland; according to recent investigations, he, rather than his brother, is to be regarded as the original of Arner in *Lienhard und Gertrud*.

NIKLAUS EMANUEL VON TSCHARNER 1727—1794

Oil painting by F. Oelenhainz in private possession

Landvogt of Schenkenberg at Schloss Wildenstein from 1767 to 1773, wrote on the education of the poor; till recently, regarded as the original of Arner in *Lienhard und Gertrud*.

HELENA ISELIN-FORCART 1740—1810



ISAAK ISELIN 1728—1782

Oil paintings by A. Hickel in private possession

The well-known recorder of Basle, with his wife, was frequently the host of Pestalozzi; became his literary adviser, and placed the *Ephemeriden* at his disposal for his first literary efforts. Pestalozzi dedicated to his memory the second part of *Lienhard und Gertrud*, and in 1782, published a warm memoir of his patron in the *Schweizerblatt*.

FELIX BATTIER 1748—1801

Miniature in private possession

Merchant in Basle; Pestalozzi's adviser after the death of Iselin in 1780; tried to persuade him to give up the Neuhof; Pestalozzi's son Jakob was employed in his business for several years from 1785 on.

JAKOB SARASIN-BATTIER 1742—1802

Oil painting by C. Wengner, 1768, in private possession

Merchant in Basle; like his brother-in-law, Felix Battier, a devoted friend of Pestalozzi.

FRANZISKA ROMANA VON HALLWYL 1758—1836

Oil painting by F. G. A. Schöner, 1804, in the possession of the Landesmuseum, Zurich, Hallwyl Collection

Daughter of Count Franz Anton von Hallwyl, was already widowed in 1780; a loyal friend of the Pestalozzi family. In Schloss Hallwyl, Anna Pestalozzi repeatedly took refuge for lengthy periods in times of difficulty.

GEORG HEINRICH LUDWIG NICOLOVIUS 1767 -1839

Lithograph after a drawing by C. Hohe in the *Denkschrift auf G. H. L. Nicolovius* by A. Nicolovius, Bonn 1841

In friendly correspondence with Pestalozzi, whom he visited at the Neuhof in 1791; as head of the Prussian education authorities, was instrumental in the sending of candidates for the teaching profession to Yverdon.

JOHANN GEORG FICHTE 1762—1814

Steel engraving by A. Schultheis after F. Bury in the possession of the Zentralbibliothek, Zurich

The famous philosopher, made the acquaintance of Pestalozzi during his residence in Zurich (1788—1790) and stayed with him in Richterswil in 1793. Pestalozzi's *Nachforschungen* are strongly influenced by him. In his *Reden an die deutsche Nation* (1807—1808) he alluded to pedagogic ideas of Pestalozzi as of value for the spiritual regeneration of Germany.

LEOPOLD II. GERMAN EMPEROR 1747—1792

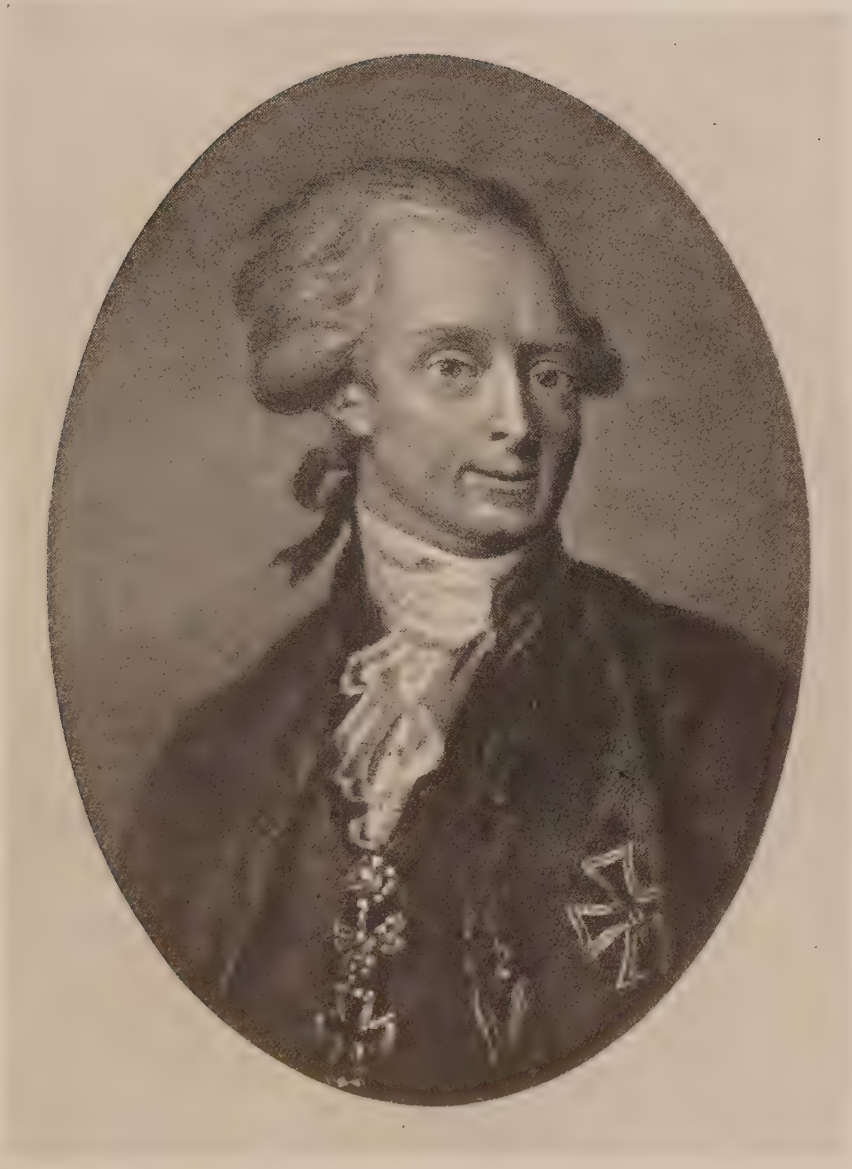
Engraving by Ch. von Mechel in the possession of the Zentralbibliothek, Zurich

As Grand Duke of Toskana (till 1790), was a friend of the *Aufklärung;* interested himself in Pestalozzi's pedagogic ideas; his election as German Emperor deprived him of the leisure to occupy himself further with them.

SIGISMUND VON HOHENWART 1730—1820

Lithograph by Lanzetelly after J. Krafft, circa 1820, in the possession of the Nationalbibliothek, Vienna

Tutor to the sons of the Grand Duke Leopold of Toskana, brought the latter into touch with Pestalozzi in 1785. The portrait shows him in his later dignity as Prince Archbishop of Vienna.



KARL VON ZINZENDORF 1739—1813

Phototype from E. G. von Pettenegg's *Ludwig und Karl Grafen und Herren von Zinzendorf*, Vienna, 1879

Nephew of the founder of the Brotherhood, Austrian Minister of Finance under Joseph II. and Leopold II.; was in correspondence with Pestalozzi, who hoped through him to obtain a circle of influence in Vienna.

PERIOD OF THE HELVETIK

PERIOD OF THE HELVETIK

Plate 53 Ph. A. Stapfer

» 54 C. F. Laharpe

» 55 F. B. Meyer von Schauensee

» 56 P. Usteri

» 57 J. H. Zschokke

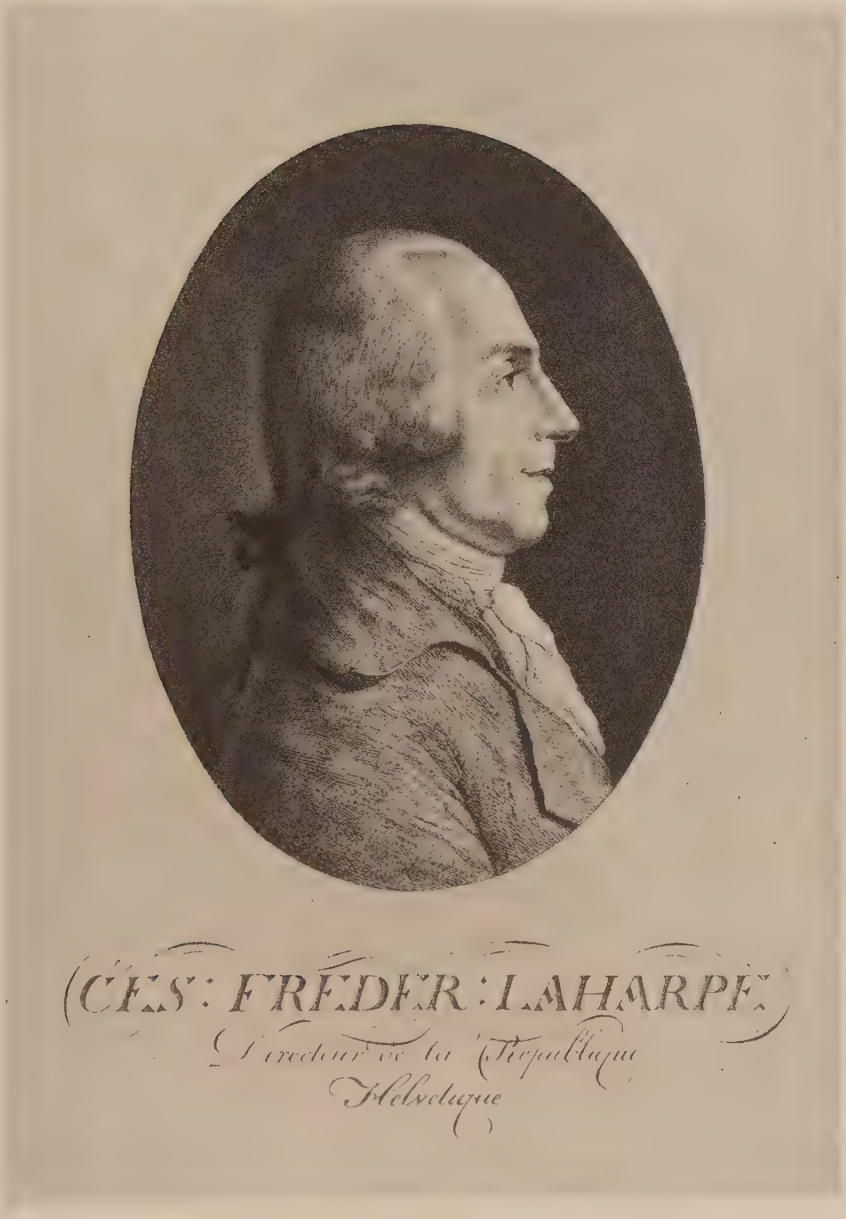
» 58 Pestalozzi in Stans, by K. Grob

» 59 Pestalozzi and the Orphans in Stans, by A. Anker

PHILIPP ALBRECHT STAPFER 1766—1840

Oil painting by Mme. Chéradame in private possession

Helvetian Minister of Arts and Sciences, 1798—1800, a loyal friend to Pestalozzi, whose educational plans he furthered "with the warmth of a magnanimous spirit, capable of grasping the requirements of popular culture with the greatest insight and generosity" *(Schwanengesang)*.



CESAR FREDERIC LAHARPE 1754—1838

Engraving by H. Pfenninger, circa 1798, in the possession of the Zentralbibliothek, Zurich

Member of the Helvetian Directory, gave Pestalozzi permission to open a school in Burgdorf, and made him, moreover, considerable financial grants for the realisation of his plans.

FRANZ BERNHARD MEYER VON SCHAUENSEE 1763—1848

Lithograph by L. Wegner, 1843, in the possession of the Zentralbibliothek, Zurich

Helvetian Minister of Justice, in correspondence with Pestalozzi on political questions from the last decade of the 18th century on, later encouraged the propagation of his method, and also remained his friend during the Münchenbuchsee and Yverdon periods.

PAUL USTERI 1768—1831

Lithograph by H. J. Oeri in the possession of the Zentralbibliothek, Zurich

Eminent Zurich statesman, with Pestalozzi, delegated by Zurich to the *Consulta* in Paris; with other experts, gave a favourable report on Pestalozzi's school in Burgdorf in 1800, as a result of which the latter was able to open his educational institution in the Schloss.

JOHANN HEINRICH ZSCHOKKE 1771—1848

Lithograph by J. Brodtmann after J. Notz in the possession of the Zentralbibliothek, Zurich

The well-known writer and philanthropist; as Government Commissioner in Lucerne supported Pestalozzi's work in Stans, and frequently made honourable mention of him later in his writings.

PESTALOZZI AND THE ORPHANS IN STANS

Oil painting by A. Anker, 1870, in the possession of the Kunsthaus, Zurich

BURGDORF
AND
MÜNCHENBUCHSEE

BURGDORF AND MÜNCHENBUCHSEE

Plate 60 H. Krüsi

» 61 J. G. Tobler

» 62 J. Ch. Buß

» 63 J. Niederer

» 64 J. Ramsauer

» 65 G. A. Gruner

» 66 J. F. Herbart

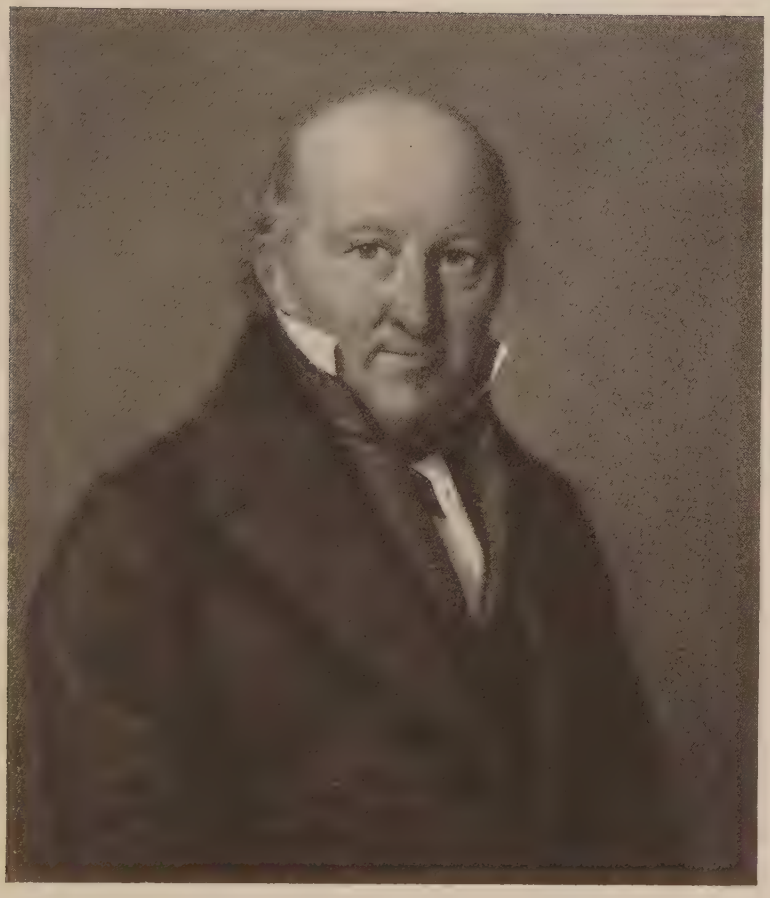
» 67 Th. Müller

» 68 J. von Muralt

» 69 J. S. Ith

» 70 Ph. E. von Fellenberg

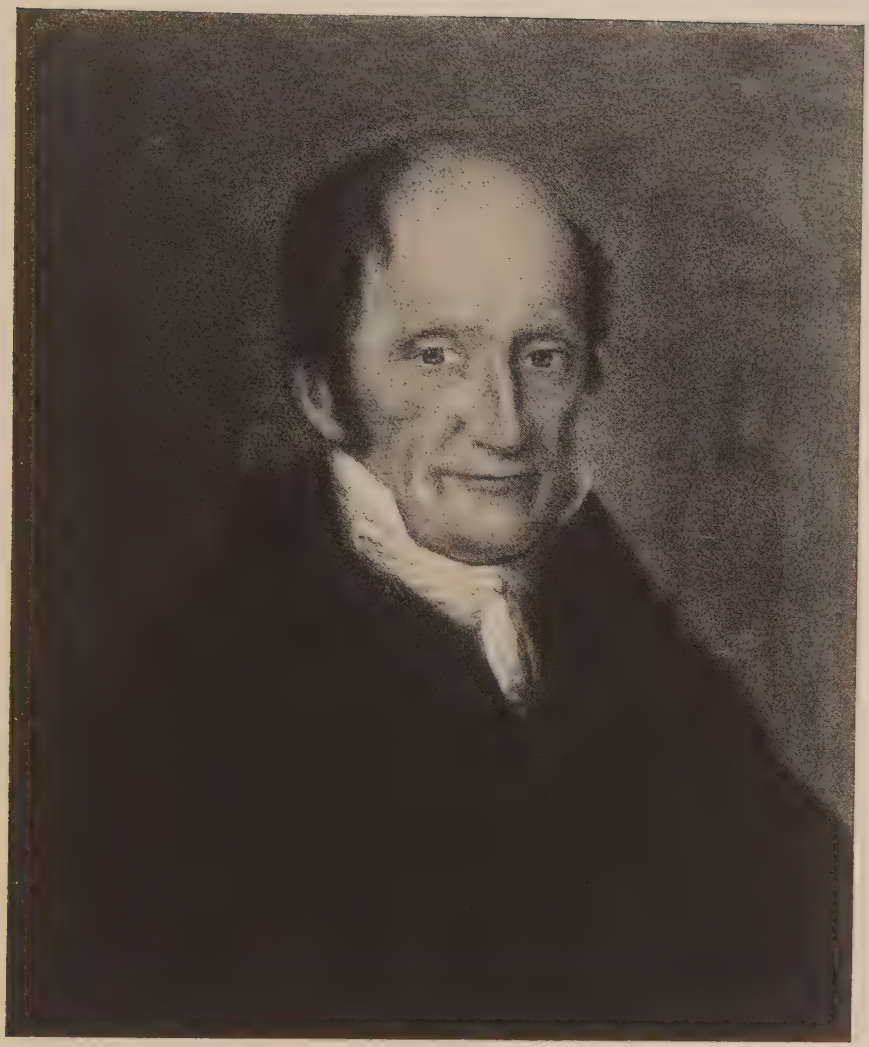
» 71 J. J. Wehrli



HERMANN KRÜSI 1775—1844

Oil painting by D. Sulzer in private possession

Pestalozzi's first collaborator, brought, in 1800, poor children from Appenzell to Burgdorf, and remained in Pestalozzi's Institute as teacher till the latter's break with Niederer in 1817. Later he became principal of the training-college in Trogen and was the author of numerous works on pedagogy.



JOHANN GEORG TOBLER 1769—1843

Oil painting by J. Brunschweiler in the possession of the Pestalozzianum, Zurich

A native of Trogen, was a private tutor in Basle, made Pestalozzi's acquaintance through Krüsi, and became teacher of singing and natural history in Burgdorf and Yverdon till 1808.

JOHANN CHRISTOPH BUSS 1776—1855

Ivory miniature in private possession

A bookbinder from Tübingen; came to Switzerland in 1800, and taught drawing and mathematics at Burgdorf.

JOHANNES NIEDERER 1779—1843

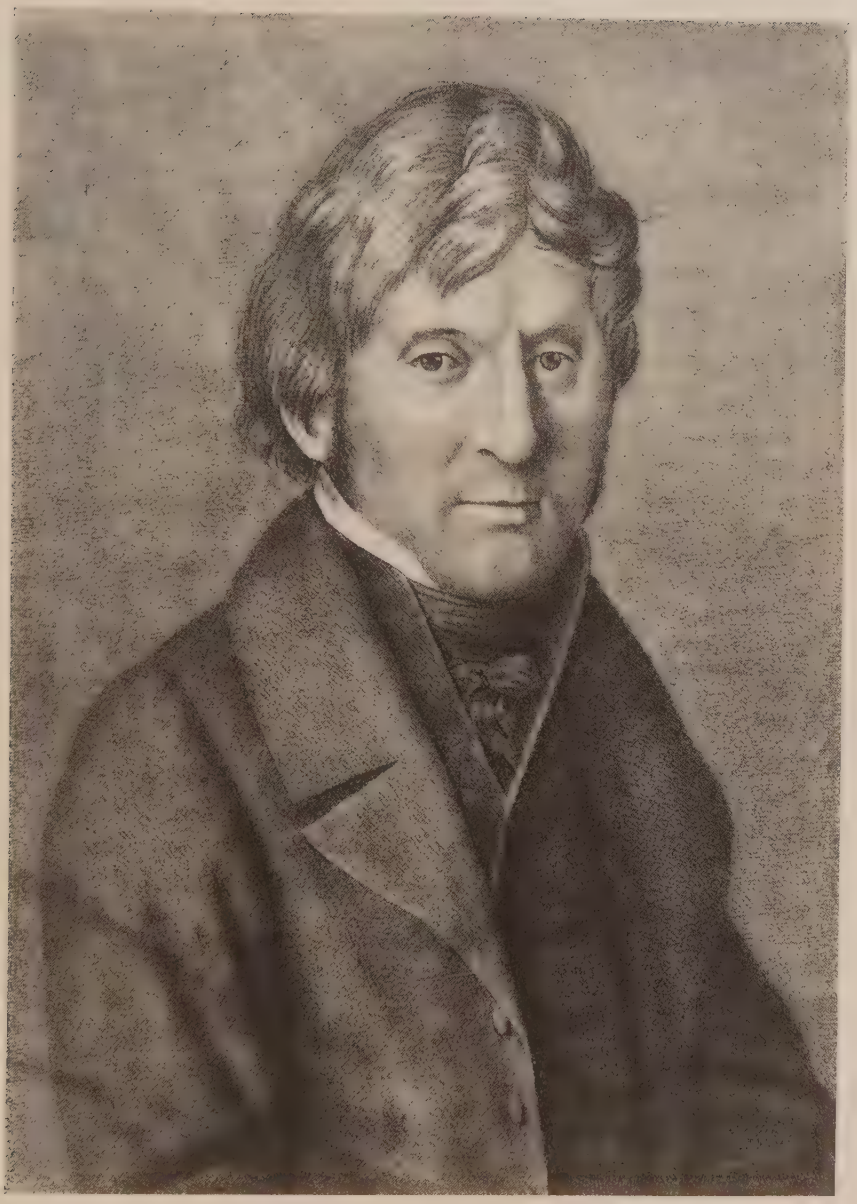
Oil painting in the possession of the Pestalozzianum, Zurich

A native of the Canton of Appenzell, originally pastor of Sennwald (Rheintal), came to Burgdorf as teacher in 1803, subsequently attempted to give Pestalozzi's method a philosophic basis, and defended it with great energy against the attacks of Haller and Bremi; broke with Pestalozzi, however, in 1817, and with his wife, Rosette, née Kasthofer, directed the Girls' Institute in Yverdon, which was later transferred to Geneva.

JOHANNES RAMSAUER 1790—1848

Miniature in private possession

A native of Herisau, Canton Appenzell; became a pupil of Pestalozzi in 1800, remained as teacher in Burgdorf and Yverdon till 1816. His autobiography contains valuable material relating to Pestalozzi.



GOTTLIEB ANTON GRUNER 1778—1844

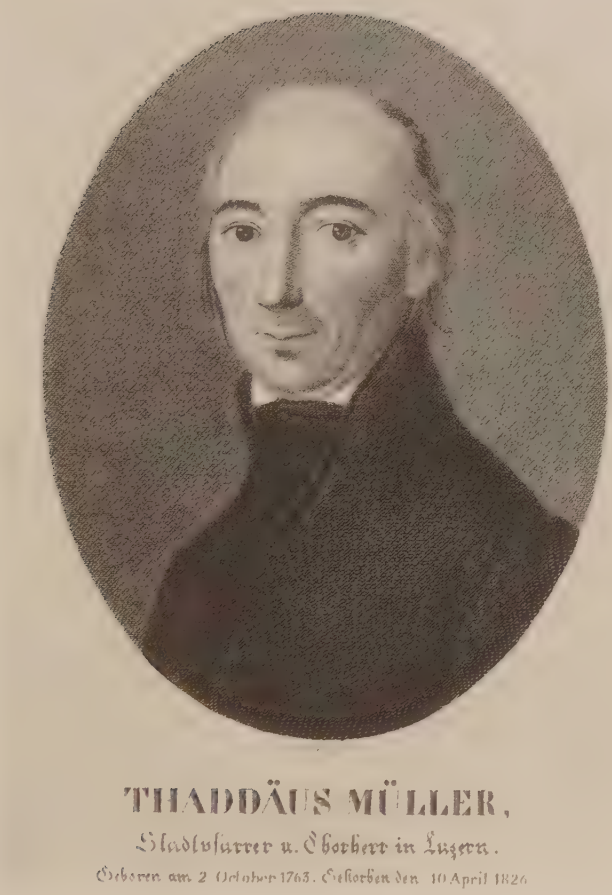
Lithograph after Walther in the possession of the Altertumsmuseum, Idstein

From Coburg; came in 1801 to visit Pestalozzi's Institute and reported on it in his *Briefe aus Burgdorf*, undertook the direction of the model school at Frankfort in 1805, and was principal of the training-college at Idstein from 1817 to 1827.

JOHANN FRIEDRICH HERBART 1776—1841

After a lithograph

The well-known pedagogue visited Pestalozzi in Burgdorf at the end of his residence in Switzerland (1797—1799), and later published various essays on his doctrine.



THADDAEUS MÜLLER 1763—1826

Engraving by H. Meyer in the possession of the Pestalozzianum, Zurich

Parish priest of the town of Lucerne; was one of the first to grasp and appreciate Pestalozzi's method.

JOHANNES VON MURALT 1780—1850

Oil painting in private possession

From 1803 to 1810, teacher of French and divinity at Münchenbuchsee and Yverdon, from 1810 till his death, pastor of the German Reformed community in St. Petersburg.

JOHANN SAMUEL ITH 1747—1813

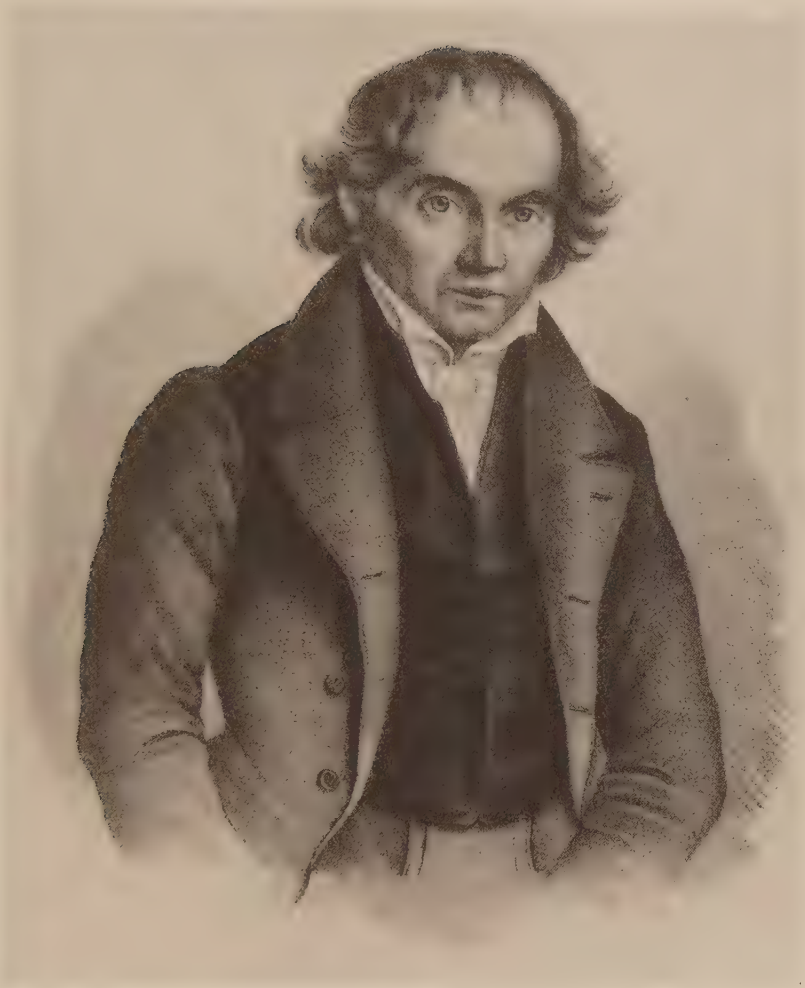
Contemporary oil painting in private possession

Eminent scholar of Berne, Dean and President of the Berne Education Council. His favourable report to the Helvetian Government in 1802 on Pestalozzi's Institute at Burgdorf contributed considerably to the spread of interest in Pestalozzi's method.

PHILIPP EMANUEL VON FELLENBERG 1771—1848

Engraving by F. Leopold, 1817, in the possession of the Zentralbibliothek, Zurich

Son of the Bernese Councillor Daniel v. Fellenberg, founder of the celebrated Schools in Hofwil, tried unsuccessfully at Münchenbuchsee to bring about a connection with Pestalozzi's Institute.



JOHANN JAKOB WEHRLI 1790—1855

Lithograph by J. C. Weber in the possession of the Pestalozzianum, Zurich

Director of Fellenberg's school for the poor in Hofwil from 1810 to 1833, later principal of the training-college at Kreuzlingen, Canton Thurgau; was the most successful practical exponent of Pestalozzi's ideas on the education of the poor.

YVERDON

YVERDON

TEACHERS:

Plate 72 Rosette Niederer-Kasthofer

» 73 J. K. Näf

» 74 X. Schnyder von Wartensee

» 75 J. Steiner

» 76 W. C. von Türk

» 77 J. E. Mieg

» 78 K. J. Blochmann

» 79 J. M. Henning

» 80 W. H. Ackermann

» 81 F. Fröbel

» 82 J. E. Plamann

» 83 J. de Laspée

» 84 J. St. Roth

» 85 Ph. J. Nabholz

» 86 K. A. Zeller

PUPILS:

Plate 87 R. de Guimps

» 88 E. Lejeune

» 89 A. Willemer

» 90 Antonia Segesser

ROSETTE NIEDERER-KASTHOFER 1779—1857

Contemporary oil painting in the possession of the Pestalozzianum, Zurich

Became teacher at the Girls' Institute in Yverdon in 1809, later its principal; married Johannes Niederer; was the authoress of various works on the education of girls.

JOHANN KONRAD NÄF 1796—1832

Lithograph after an oil painting in private possession

Trained for the teaching of deaf-mutes in Zurich; visited Pestalozzi in Yverdon; was the director of the institute for deaf-mutes there.

XAVER SCHNYDER VON WARTENSEE 1786—1868

Lithograph by L. Becker, 1832, in the possession of the Zentralbibliothek, Zurich

The well-known composer visited Pestalozzi in Burgdorf and taught music in Yverdon from 1816 to 1817. His memoirs, written in 1864, contain valuable contributions to the biography of Pestalozzi.

JAKOB STEINER 1796—1863

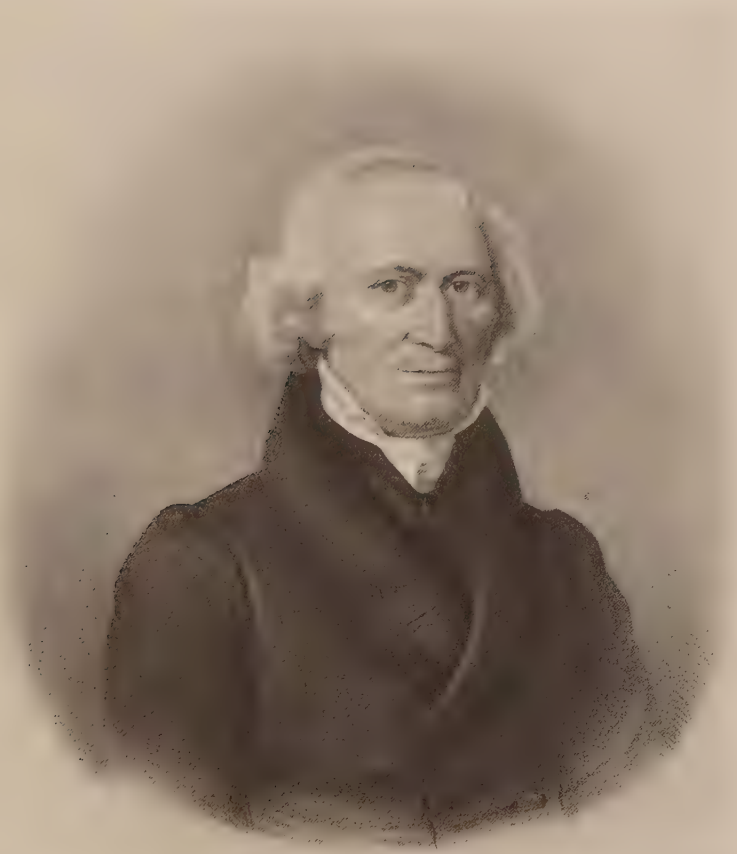
Lithograph by P. Hermann Eichens, 1841, in the possession of the Zentralbibliothek, Zurich

A native of Berne, celebrated professor of mathematics in Berlin; was, between 1810 and 1817, first pupil, then assistant teacher in Yverdon.

WILHELM CHRISTIAN VON TÜRK 1774—1846

Lithograph by F. Jentzen after Remy

A native of Meiningen; gave up a successful official career in 1808 in order to go to Yverdon with some pupils of his own as language and natural science teacher; founded, however, in 1811 a school of his own in Vevey; was appointed to the Prussian educational service in Frankfort on the Oder in 1815, then from 1817 to 1833 was municipal school inspector in Potsdam.



JOH. ELIAS MIEG 1770—1842

Lithograph in the possession of the Pestalozzianum, Zurich

Later *Hofrat*; a native of Weinheim; was at Yverdon from 1807 to 1810 as tutor of Brami Willemer and teacher; returned to Yverdon in 1813, and between 1813 and 1816, as tutor to the sons of Prince von Isenburg, was in active correspondence with Pestalozzi from Lausanne; was one of Pestalozzi's most judicious and sincere friends.

KARL JUSTUS BLOCHMANN 1786—1855

Lithograph by A. Hohneck, 1843, in the possession of the Pestalozzianum, Zurich

Son of a Saxon clergyman; taught in Yverdon from 1809 to 1816; subsequently founded a school of his own in Dresden, 1824. Contributed valuable details to the biography of Pestalozzi.

JOHANN MATHIAS HENNING 1783—1840

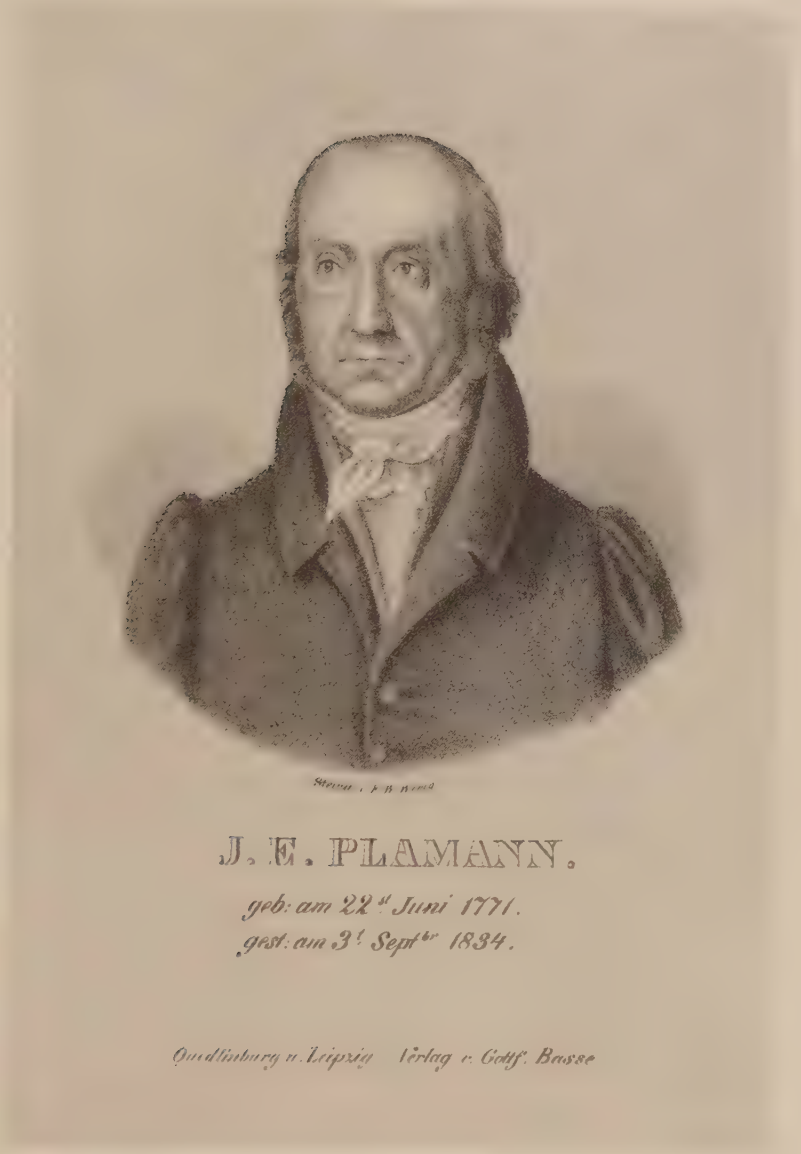
After a miniature

Was one of the Prussian pupils at Yverdon from 1809 to 1812; after having been trained as a teacher, he was employed at the Orphanage in Bunzlau, and published in 1816/17 in his *Schulrath an der Oder* contributions to the biography of Pestalozzi.

WILHELM HEINRICH ACKERMANN 1789—1848

Drawing by H. Bagge, 1836, in private possession

A native of the Vogtland; brought English pupils to Yverdon, and taught there, first from 1811 to 1813, and again, after having fought in the War of Liberation, from 1815 to 1817; was engaged later at the Laspée Institute in Wiesbaden, and from 1820 on, at the model school in Frankfort.



JOHANN ERNST PLAMANN 1771—1834

Lithograph by F. W. Wenig in the possession of the Zentralbibliothek, Zurich

A native of the Neumark; after a short stay at Burgdorf in 1803, during which Pestalozzi tried unsuccessfully to obtain his services for the Institute, founded a school of his own in Berlin in 1805, at which various pupils of Pestalozzi were employed, namely, Dreist, Harnisch and Fröbel.

JOHANN DE LASPEE 1783—1825

Lithograph in private possession

Hofrat at the Court of Nassau, trained as teacher by Pestalozzi at Yverdon, opened an elementary school in Wiesbaden in 1809, to which Goethe, among others, paid a visit; remained in touch with Pestalozzi and his method by regular visits to Yverdon.

STEPHAN LUDWIG ROTH 1796—1849

Phototype from O. Folberth's *Stürmen und Stranden; ein Stephan Ludwig Roth-Buch*, Stuttgart, 1924

A native of Mediasch, Siebenbürgen; taught Latin at Yverdon from 1818 to 1820, later pastor in Siebenbürgen; wrote a Latin grammar on the lines of Pestalozzi's method, which, however, remained unpublished.

PHILIPP JAKOB NABHOLZ 1782—1842

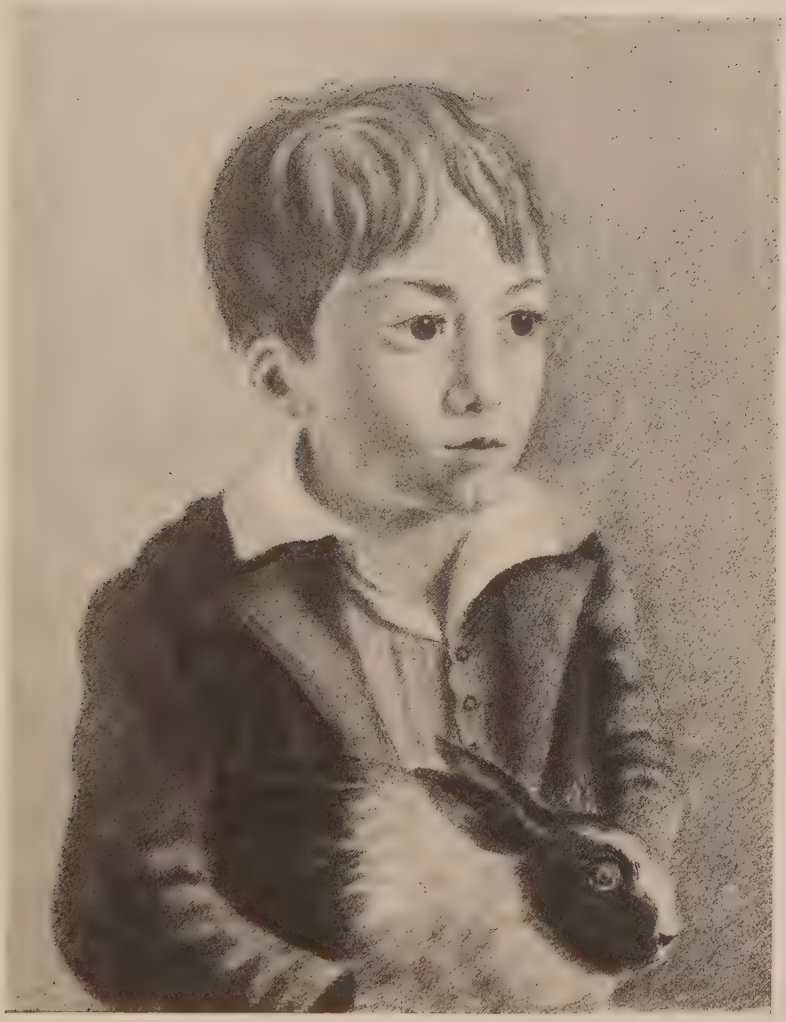
Charcoal drawing by A. Zschokke, 1840, in the possession of the Wettingen Seminary

A Catholic priest, a native of Villingen; spent the winter of 1807 to 1808 at Yverdon. A proposal to hand over to him the direction of Pestalozzi's Institute in 1814 was frustrated by the refusal of his superiors to release him from his pastoral duties; was, however, subsequently employed in Switzerland by the Canton of Aargau in the training college; in 1822, returned to Baden, and was finally appointed to the direction of the Seminary at Meersburg.

KARL AUGUST ZELLER 1774—1840

Engraving by C. G. Eichler after L. Vogel in K. A. Zeller's *Die Schulmeisterschule*, Zurich, 1807

A native of Wurtemberg; came to Burgdorf in 1803. Pestalozzi's enthusiastic disciple, held teachers' training courses in Zurich — the portrait shows him surrounded by his pupils — and later became school inspector in Königsberg. His brother, Christian Heinrich (1779—1860), founded the well-known school at Beuggen, which Pestalozzi visited in 1826, and in which he saw his theories in practice.



ROGER DE GUIMPS 1812—1894

Charcoal drawing, 1820, in private possession

Son of a French émigré, who lived in Yverdon, and was among Pestalozzi's friends; a pupil of the Institute; published valuable reminiscences of Pestalozzi in 1874.

EDUARD LEJEUNE 1797—1882

Pastel in private possession

Son of Dr. F. A. Lejeune of Frankfort, pupil at Yverdon from 1807 to 1811.

ABRAHAM (called BRAMI) WILLEMER 1797—1818

Oil painting by F. G. A. Schöner, 1807, in the possession of the Goethe Museum in Frankfort

Son of Johann Jakob von Willemer, the banker and friend of Goethe; accompanied by his tutor Mieg, was at Yverdon from 1807 to 1810.

ANTONIA SEGESSER 1789—1866

Ivory miniature in private possession

With her sister Luise, who was later betrothed to Niederer, an enthusiastic pupil of Pestalozzi at Yverdon; married Joseph Karl Amrhyn of Lucerne in 1812.

FRIENDS
AND
OPPONENTS OF THE METHOD

FRIENDS AND OPPONENTS OF THE METHOD

FRIENDS:

Plate 91 J. K. Amrhyn

» 92 H. G. Naegeli

» 93 F. A. Lejeune

» 94 J. and M. von Willemer

» 95 K. Ritter

» 96 J. F. Ladomus

» 97 M. A. Jullien

» 98 Therese von Brunszvik

» 99 Friedrich Wilhelm III.

» 100 Alexander I.

» 101 P. G. Girard

» 102 J. H. von Wessenberg

» 103 J. M. Sailer

OPPONENTS:

Plate 104 J. R. Steinmüller

» 105 J. H. Bremi

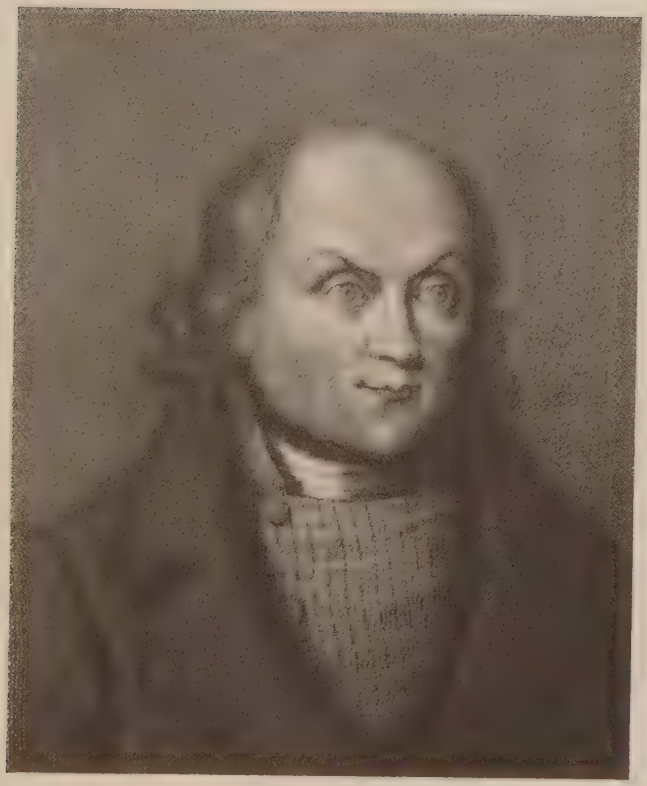
» 106 J. J. Hottinger

» 107 K. L. von Haller

JOSEPH KARL AMRHYN 1777—1848

Oil painting in private possession

Staatsschreiber, later Mayor of Lucerne; married, for the second time, in 1812, Antonia Segesser; sent his son, Joseph Karl Franz Amrhyn, later Federal Chancellor, to complete his education in Yverdon.



HANS GEORG NÄGELI 1773—1836

Engraving by M. Esslinger after H. J. Oeri in the possession of the Pestalozzianum, Zurich

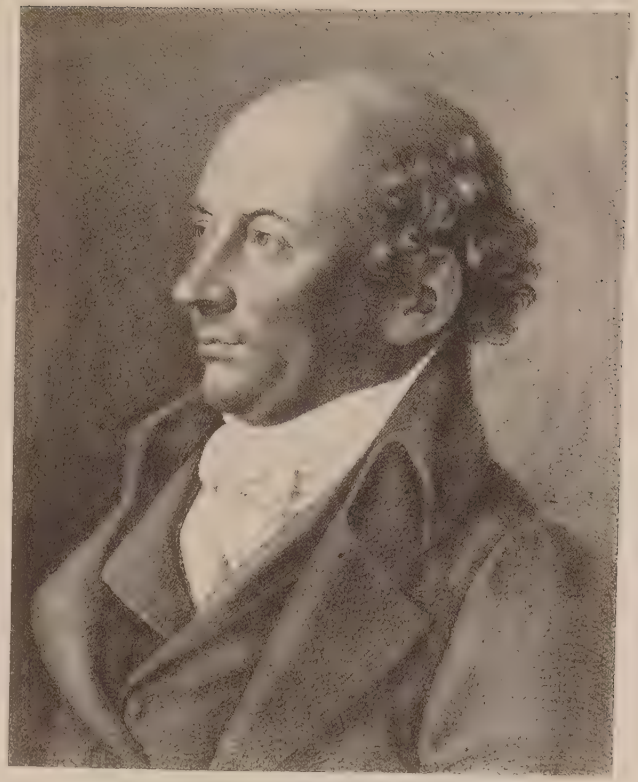
The well-known composer and *Sängervater* came to Yverdon in 1809; in 1810, published, in collaboration with Pfeiffer, his *Gesangsbildungslehre* there, and later supported Pestalozzi's ideas, particularly in his function as member of the Board of Education in Zurich.

Dr. FRANÇOIS ADAM LEJEUNE 1765—1854

Oil painting in private possession

A Frankfort doctor; brought his two sons to Yverdon in 1807, and from then till 1811, frequently stayed there himself; induced many residents of Frankfort to send their children to Pestalozzi; in this way Frankfort became an important centre for the propagation of Pestalozzi's ideas.

MARIANNE VON WILLEMER-JUNG 1784—1864



JOHANN JAKOB VON WILLEMER 1760—1838

Crayon drawings by A. Radl, 1819, in the possession of the Goethe National-Museum in Weimar

Willemer, Prussian *Geheimrat*, had his son Brami educated in Yverdon, and in 1810 and 1811 visited the Institute with his second wife Marianne, née Jung, the well-known friend of Goethe. An enthusiastic admirer of Pestalozzi; was in correspondence with him for many years.

KARL RITTER 1779—1859

Lithograph by F. Jentzen after Krüger in the possession of the Zentralbibliothek, Zurich

The well-known geographer came to Yverdon in 1807 and 1809 as tutor to the family Bethmann-Hollweg of Frankfort, again came into touch with Pestalozzi during his stay in Geneva in 1811/1812, and was his life-long admirer.

JOHANN FRIEDRICH LADOMUS 1783—1854

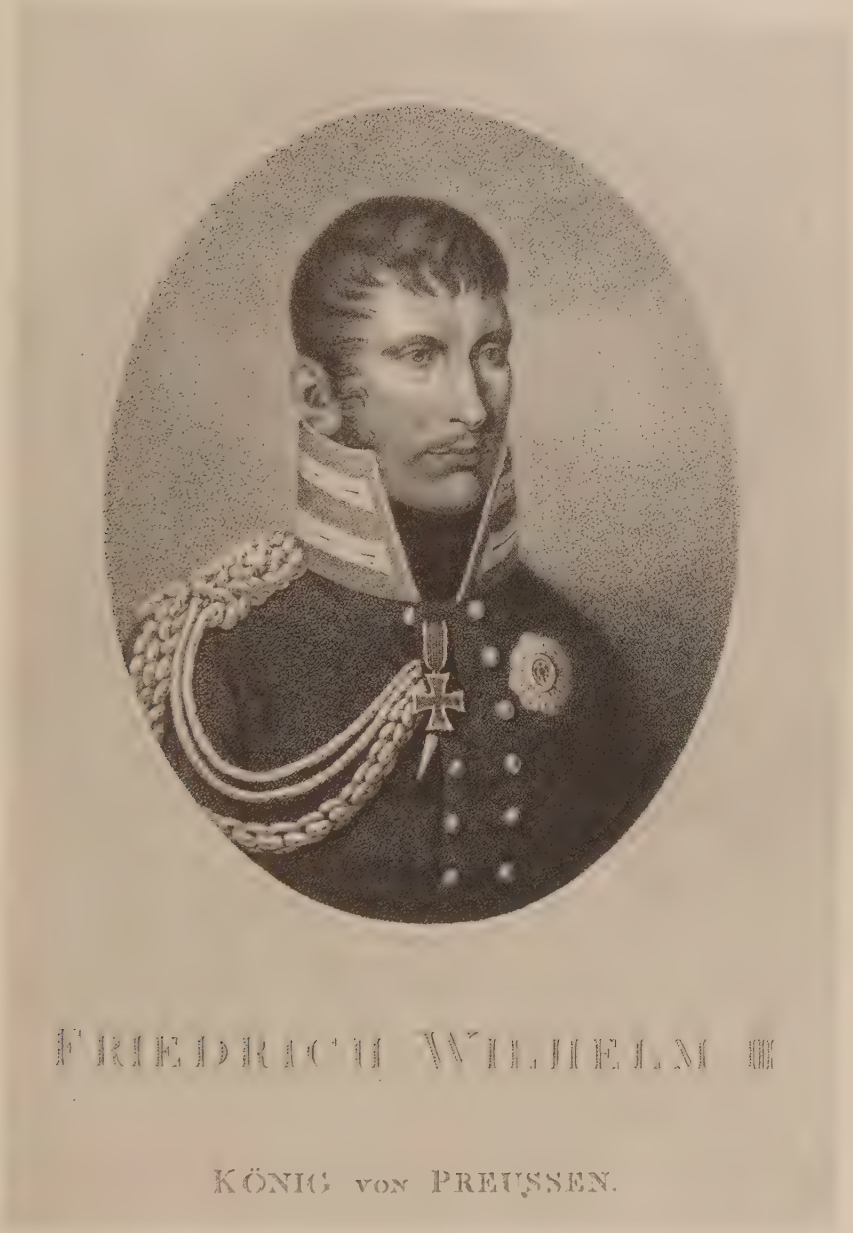
Lithograph by K. F. Irminger, 1838, in the possession of the Zentralbibliothek, Zurich

A native of Bretten, Baden. Professor of mathematics at the Baden School of Engineering which later became the Karlsruhe Polytechnic; had always shown interest in pedagogy in his writings; was commissioned by the Government of Baden to study Pestalozzi's method in Yverdon, and supervised there the studies of some pupils from Baden.

MARC ANTOINE JULLIEN 1775—1848

Lithograph by Sicard, circa 1835, in the possession of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

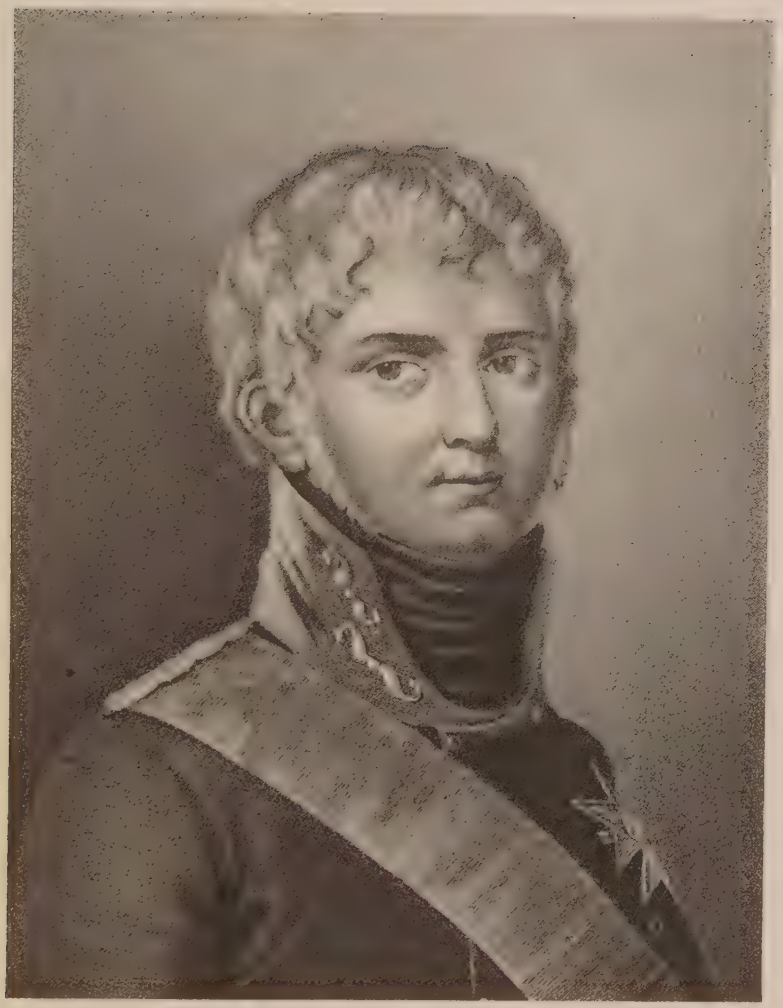
One of the higher officials of the French army administration; had his three sons educated at Yverdon; published in 1812 a French account of Pestalozzi's method, and, at the request of the latter, came himself to Yverdon in 1814, to advise him as to a reorganisation and safeguarding of the management of the Institute.



FRIEDRICH WILHELM III., KING OF PRUSSIA, 1770–1840

Engraving by F. Bolt, 1813, in the possession of the Zentralbibliothek, Zurich

At the suggestion of Nicolovius, sent a considerable number of Prussian pupils to Yverdon from 1809 on, in order to have them trained as teachers by Pestalozzi, and with their help, caused an educational reform on the lines of the new method to be carried out in Prussia by his minister Süvern.



ALEXANDER I., TSAR OF RUSSIA, 1777—1825

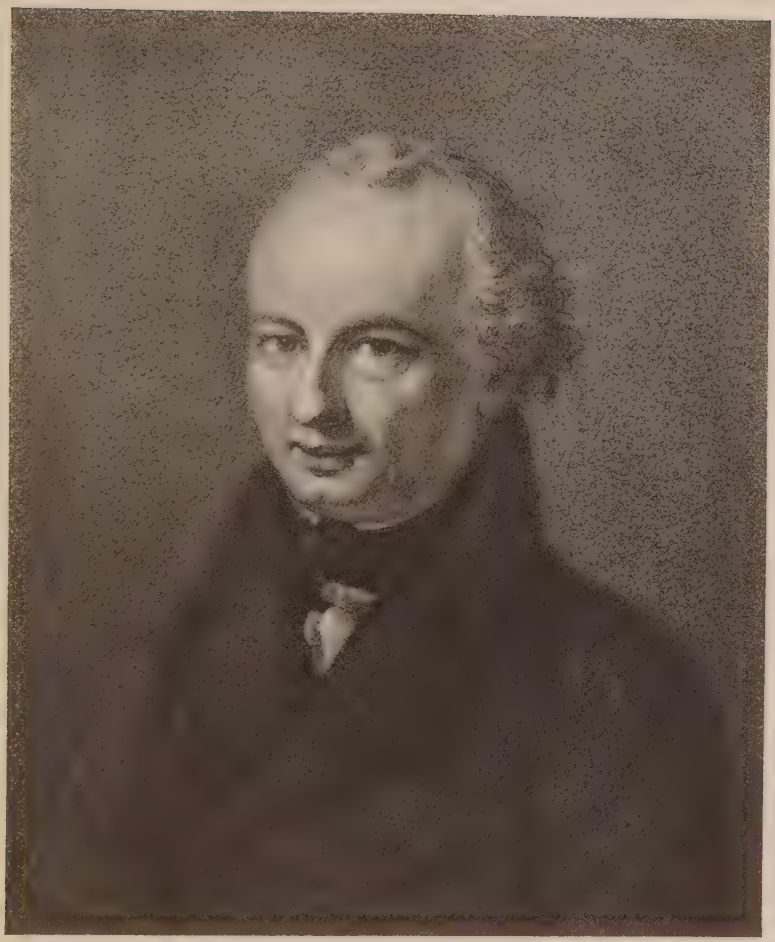
Engraving by Clément after Du Brusle in the possession of the Zentralbibliothek, Zurich

As a pupil of Laharpe's, was deeply interested in Switzerland; assisted Pestalozzi, who awakened his interest at a personal audience in Basle in 1814, by money grants, and by sending Russian pupils to Yverdon.

P. GREGOIRE GIRARD 1765—1850

Lithograph by H. Hasler in the possession of the Pestalozzianum, Zurich

A native of Freiburg, Switzerland; gave in 1809, as member of the committee which examined Pestalozzi's institute in Yverdon for the *Tagsatzung*, a sympathetic, though somewhat critical account of his impressions; reorganised the elementary schools of Canton Freiburg on the lines of Pestalozzi's method.



IGNAZ HEINRICH VON WESSENBERG 1774—1860

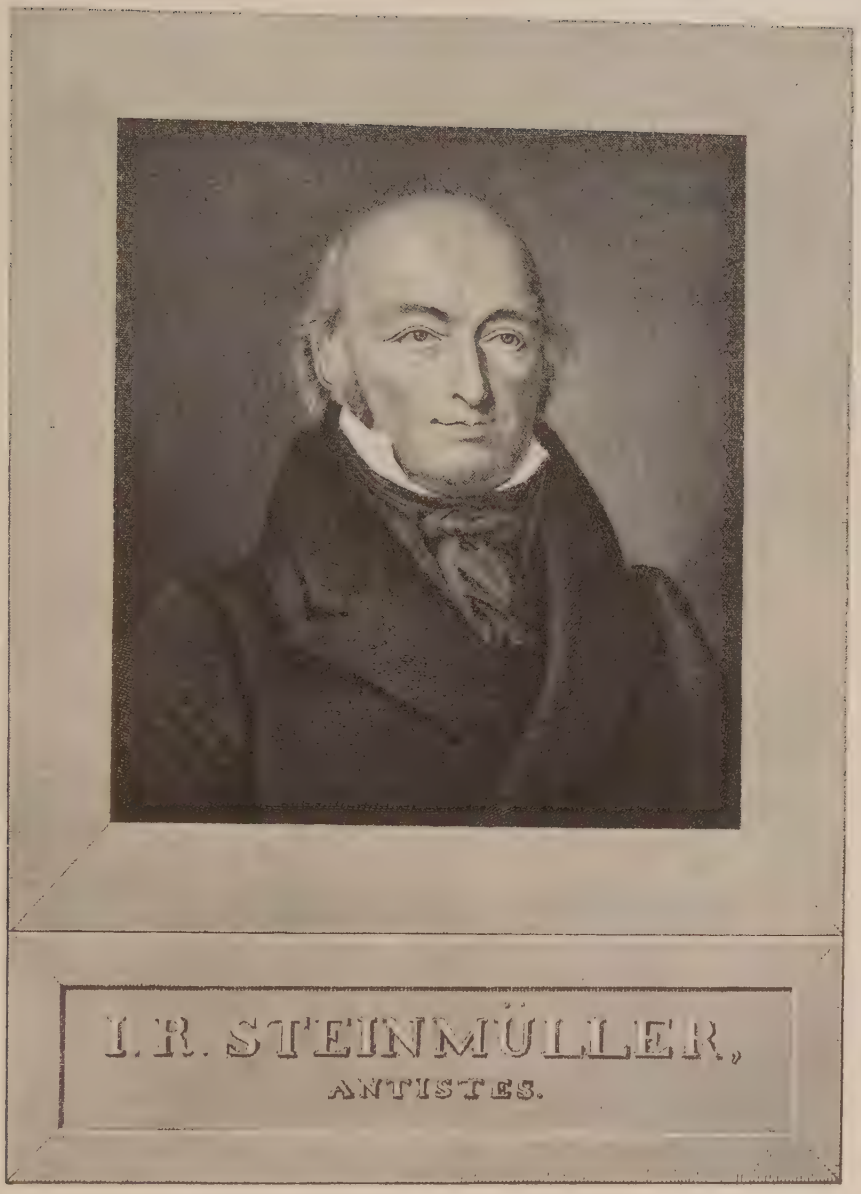
Lithograph by J. Brodtmann after M. Ellenrieder, 1822, in the possession of the Zentralbibliothek, Zurich

The well-known Vicar General of the Bishopric of Constance visited Pestalozzi's Institutes at Burgdorf in 1801 and at Yverdon in 1805, and subsequently kept up an active correspondence with him.

JOHANN MICHAEL SAILER 1751—1832

Engraving by J. E. Haid after T. Wocher in the possession of the Pestalozzianum, Zurich

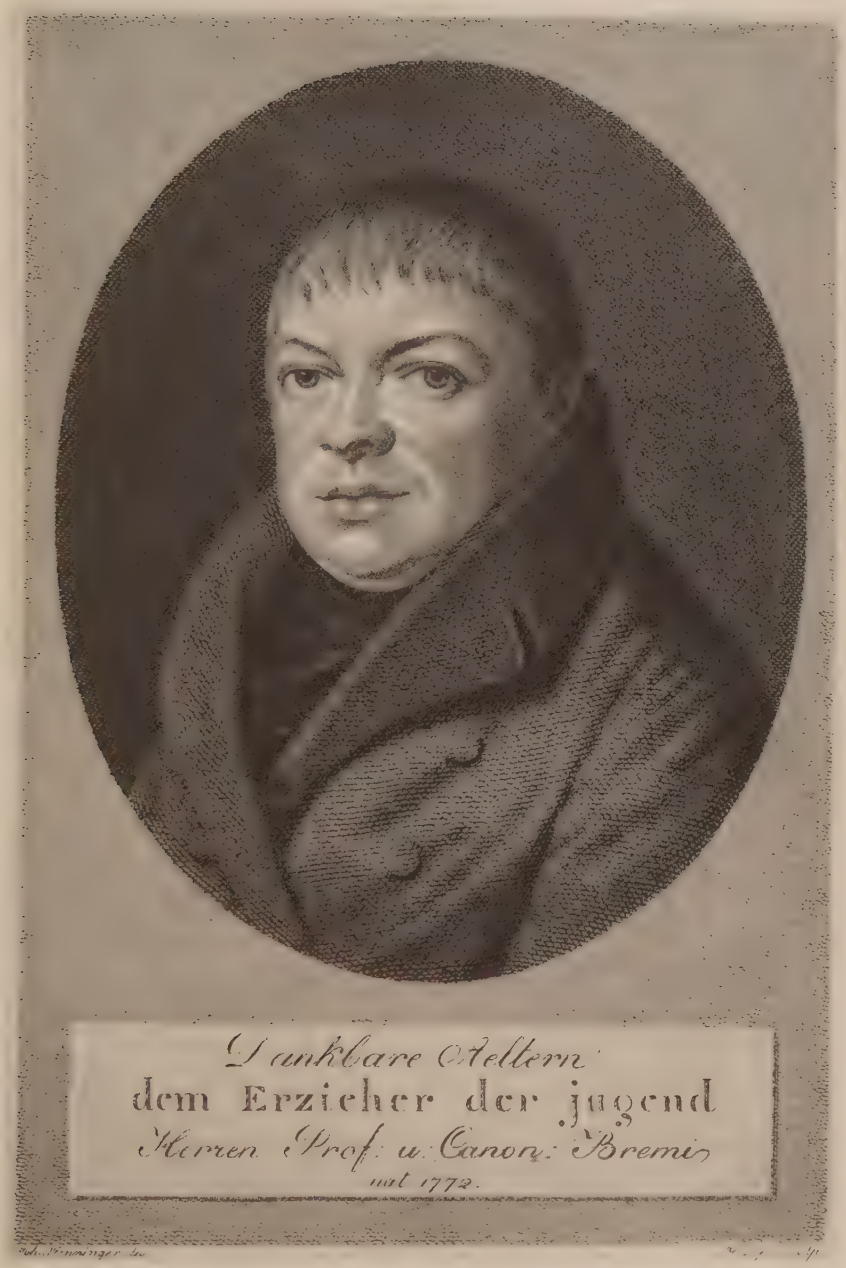
The well-known Bavarian Catholic theologian and pedagogue, later Bishop of Regensburg, was in correspondence with Pestalozzi, and supported his method, though with reservations.



JOHANN RUDOLF STEINMÜLLER 1773—1835

Engraving by C. A. Gonzenbach after H. J. Oeri, 1833, in the possession of the Pestalozzianum, Zurich

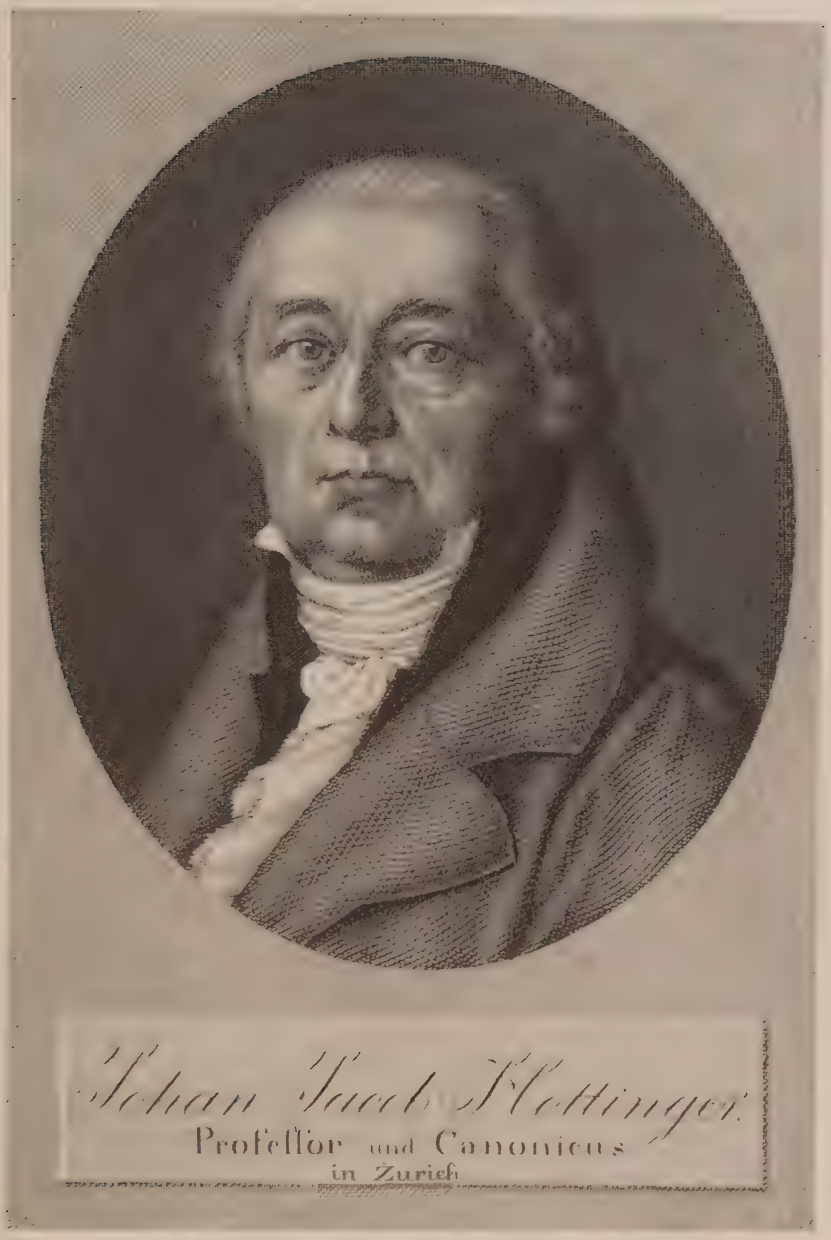
Pastor, first of Gais, later of Rheineck; organised in 1801—1802 the first teachers' training courses in Eastern Switzerland; as Pestalozzi's opponent, was dissatisfied that his compatriot Krüsi remained at Burgdorf, and gave public expression to his opposition in his *Bemerkungen gegen Pestalozzis Unterrichtsmethode* 1803.



JOHANN HEINRICH BREMI 1772—1832

Engraving by H. Lips after J. Pfenninger in the possession of the Zentralbibliothek, Zurich

Canon and Professor at the Carolinum, Zurich; in 1811, after the publication of Niederer's *Schutzrede*, opened a press campaign against Pestalozzi, which was continued in the form of pamphlets in spite of efforts on the part of Hans Georg Nägeli and David Vogel to effect an understanding.



JOHANN JAKOB HOTTINGER 1750—1819

Engraving by M. Esslinger in the possession of the Zentralbibliothek, Zurich

Canon and Professor at the Carolinum, Zurich; criticised Pestalozzi's method adversely at a school celebration, and gave reasons for his attitude, 1813, in the preface to his *Rektoratsreden* in answer to efforts made by Hans Georg Nägeli to win him over to Pestalozzi.

KARL LUDWIG VON HALLER 1768—1854

Lithograph by H. Hasler after P. von Deschwanden in the possession of the Zentralbibliothek, Zurich

The famous *Restaurator* was attacked by Pestalozzi in 1798 in the *Helvetisches Volksblatt* as an opponent of the Helvetian Government; he counter-attacked Pestalozzi in the *Göttinger Gelehrten Anzeigen*, accusing him of pursuing revolutionary aims in his Institutes.

PLACES CONNECTED WITH PESTALOZZI

PLACES CONNECTED WITH PESTALOZZI

Plate 108 Chiavenna

» 109 Locarno

» 110 Zurich, General View

» 111 Zurich, Oberer Hirschengraben

» 112 Zurich, the «*Zum Roten Gatter*» House

» 113 Zurich, Hottingersteg

» 114 Zurich, the «*Zur Gerwe*» House

» 115 Richterswil on the Lake of Zurich

» 116 Höngg

» 117 Katzenrütihof, near Zurich

» 118 Map of the «Eigen» District with Birrfeld

» 119 Mülligen

» 120 The Neuhof

» 121 Brugg

» 122 Wildegg

» 123 Stans

» 124 Burgdorf

» 125 Münchenbuchsee

» 126 Schloss Yverdon

» 127 Yverdon from Clindy

» 128 The Institute for the Poor at Clindy

» 129 Brugg, the House where Pestalozzi died

» 130 Pestalozzi's Grave by the Schoolhouse in Birr

CHIAVENNA

Engraving by R. Bodmer after J. J. Meyer in the possession of the Zentralbibliothek, Zurich

Home of the Pestalozzi family, who emigrated there from Gravedona on Lake Como, and were held in high esteem. Johann Anton Pestalozza (1534–1604) came in 1550 from Chiavenna to Wädenswil in exchange for a young Zurich boy, settled in Zurich, and became a citizen of the town in 1567.

LOCARNO

Engraving by C. Rordorf after J. J. Wetzel in the possession of the Zentralbibliothek, Zurich

Home of Magdalena von Muralt, who, having been expelled from the town with her parents for religious reasons, came in 1555 to Zurich, and, as the third wife of Johann Anton Pestalozza (1534—1604), became the ancestress of the Zurich branch.

ZURICH FROM THE ENGE

Coloured engraving by H. Keller after H. Füssli, circa 1800, in the possession of the Zentralbibliothek, Zurich

OBERER HIRSCHENGRABEN, ZURICH

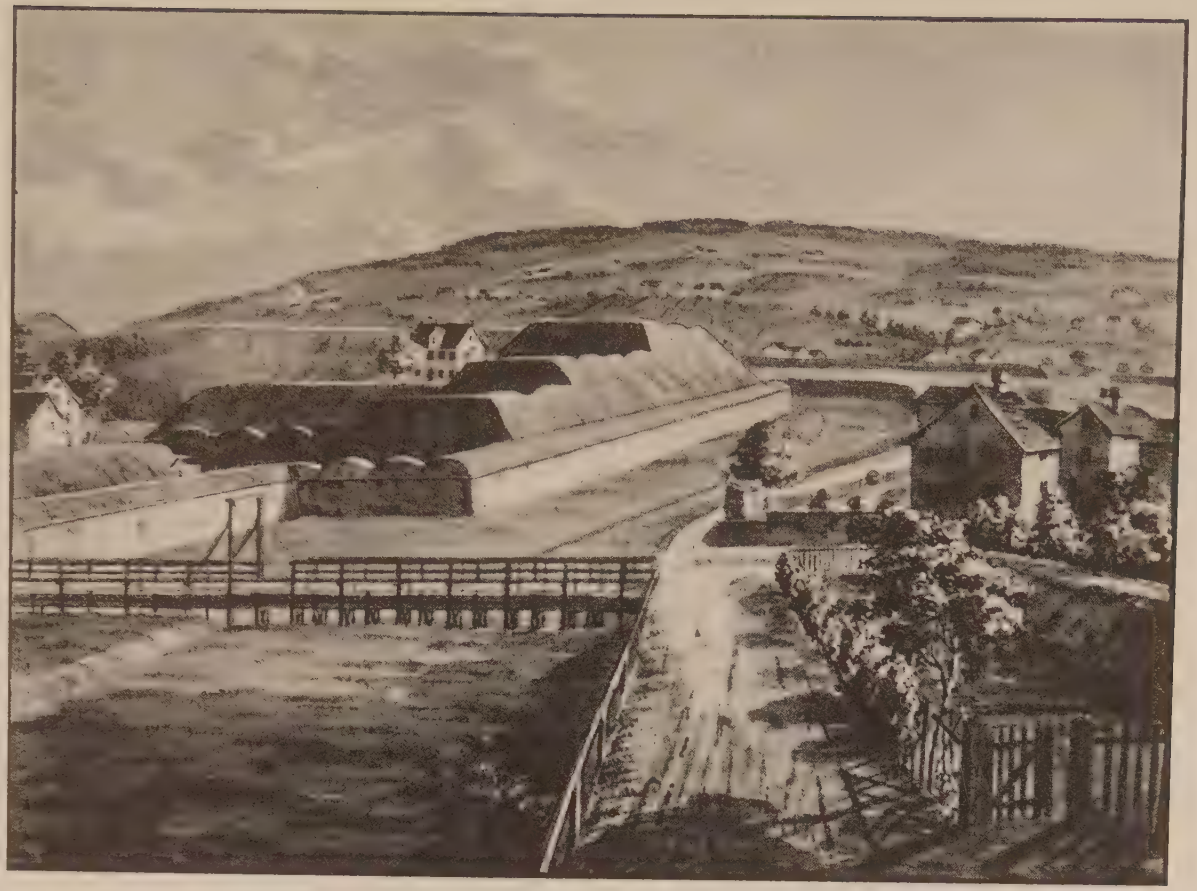
Pen and ink drawing, about the middle of the 18th century, in the possession of the Zentralbibliothek, Zurich

Pestalozzi's birthplace. The exact site of the house is no longer certain, probably the last house on the right.

THE »ZUM ROTEN GATTER« HOUSE, MÜNSTERGASSE 23, ZURICH

Reconstructed, drawing by Max Sütterlin, 1927

Pestalozzi's mother lived here from 1758 till between 1780 and 1790. Pestalozzi's home till the beginning of his training in Kirchberg, 1767.



HOTTINGERSTEG, ZURICH

(View towards the Zürichberg)

Sepia drawing by E. Schulthess, 1834, in the possession of the Kunsthaus, Zurich

Pestalozzi's maternal uncle, Heinrich Weber-Hotz, silk weaver, lived from 1742 to 1754 in the group of houses on the right. In an autobiographical sketch, Pestalozzi tells how he loved to play here in the Stadtgraben.

THE «ZUR GERWE» HOUSE, LIMMATQUAI 20, ZURICH

(Recognisable by the lion rampant with the tanners' knives painted at the side)

Engraving by J. B. Bullinger, circa 1770, in the possession of the Zentralbibliothek, Zurich

Meeting-place of the patriotic and historical society, the *Helvetische Gesellschaft*, founded and presided over by Bodmer, of which Pestalozzi was one of the most enthusiastic members.

RICHTERSWIL ON THE LAKE OF ZURICH

Coloured engraving by J. Aschmann, circa 1790, in the possession of the Zentralbibliothek, Zurich

In the doctor's house at Richterswil, Pestalozzi stayed with his maternal uncle, Johannes Hotz-Gessner, the surgeon (1705—1776) and his sons Dr. Johannes Hotze-Pfenninger (1734—1801), and Johann Konrad Hotz later Friedrich von Hotze, Austrian Lieutenant-Field-Marshall (1739—1799). He kept his cousin's house from 1793 to 1794, and received there, among others, Fichte and Baggesen, the Danish poet.

HÖNGG NEAR ZURICH

Stove tile, circa 1800, in private possession

Parish church of Pestalozzi's grandfather, Dean Andreas Pestalozzi (1692—1769). Pestalozzi often stayed here, and thus obtained his first insight into the distress of country people.

KATZENRÜTIHOF

Engraving by J. J. Meyer, circa 1780, in the possession of the Zentralbibliothek, Zurich

Model farm belonging to Jakob Gujer, surnamed Kleinjogg, which was visited, among others, by Goethe. Situated in the neighbourhood of the Katzensee, to the north of Zurich.

WEST

SOUTH

NORTH

EAST

MAP OF THE «EIGEN» DISTRICT, NOW PART OF CANTON AARGAU

Drawing by J. A. Rüdiger scale 1:60,000 in the possession of the Zentralbibliothek, Zurich

In the centre, the Birrfeld with Birr, surrounded by the castles of Brunegg, Wildegg, Wildenstein and Habsburg; on the Aare: Schinznach, the meeting place of the *Helvetische Gesellschaft*, and Brugg, where Pestalozzi died; on the Reuss: Gebistorf, where he married, and Mülligen, his first home. The Neuhof, which is not shown, lies at the junction of the roads from Birr and Lupfig to Brunegg.

THE «HOF» AT MÜLLIGEN ON THE REUSS

Photograph, 1926, in the possession of the Pestalozzianum, Zurich

To the east of the Birrfeld; Pestalozzi's first home, where he lived, first with his mother, and later with his wife until the Neuhof was ready for occupation in the spring of 1771.

THE «NEUHOF» NEAR BIRR WITH BRUNEGG

Coloured engraving by J. Aschmann after J. H. Schulthess, 1780, in the possession of the Zentralbibliothek, Zurich

Pestalozzi worked here as farmer, educator of the poor and writer on pedagogy from 1771 to 1798. He took refuge here after the failure of the Institute in Yverdon 1825.

VUE DE LA VILLE DE BRUGG AU CANTON DE BERNE
C'est une des quatres Villes municipales de l'Argeu. Elle est située sur l'Aar qui en cet endroit a le cours très rapide. Elle tire son nom d'un beau pont de pierre de construction gothique, et d'une seule arche qui lui sert d'entrée et qu'elle ferme elle-même dans ses armes.
Publié par Chr. de Mechel et se trouve chez lui a Bâle

BRUGG

Engraving by Ch. von Mechel, circa 1790, in the possession of the Zentralbibliothek, Zurich

The nearest town to the Neuhof, where Pestalozzi frequently stayed, and regularly broke his journey when travelling. He died here on February 17th 1827.

WILDEGG

Engraving by J. Aschmann, circa 1790, in the possession of the Zentralbibliothek, Zurich

In the foreground, the cotton factory of Laué et Cie., with which Pestalozzi had business relations; he and his wife were on friendly terms with the owners of the castle on the height, the von Effinger family.

STANS

Coloured engraving by H. Thomann, circa 1790, in the possession of the Zentralbibliothek, Zurich

Capital of the Canton Nidwalden, which was conquered and ravaged by the French in 1798. In the convent here was the orphanage, the establishment of which Pestalozzi had obtained from the Helvetian Government in 1798, and where he was father, mother and teacher to the orphans, until, in the following year, he was forced by the war to close the Institute.

BURGDORF

Coloured engraving by C. Wyss, circa 1760, in the possession of the Swiss Landesbibliothek, Berne

Situated on the Grosse Emme in Canton Berne. After Pestalozzi had first experimented with his method in the *Hintersässenschule*, the Helvetian Government placed the Schloss at his disposal. A few years were sufficient to awaken the interest of the pedagogic world in his educational establishment there. In the year 1804, his work was suddenly interrupted, as the new Government of Berne required the Schloss for other purposes.

THE HOUSE OF THE KNIGHTS OF ST. JOHN AT MÜNCHENBUCHSEE

Oil painting by Mlle Gatschet in private possession

The former house of the Knights of St. John, at Münchenbuchsee, situated near Berne, was placed in 1803 at the disposal of Pestalozzi by the Bernese Government for one year for his Institute. On the advice of his collaborators, von Muralt and Tobler, he amalgamated his Institute with that of Fellenberg close by in Hofwil, but soon withdrew from the agreement and moved to Yverdon in 1804.

SCHLOSS YVERDON

Engraving by F. Hegi after S. Rösel in the possession of the Zentralbibliothek, Zurich

Site of Pestalozzi's Institute, 1804—1825.

YVERDON FROM CLINDY

Coloured engraving by J. L. Aberli, circa 1770, in the possession of the Zentralbibliothek, Zurich

ALMSHOUSE AT CLINDY NEAR YVERDON

Photograph, 1926, in the possession of the Pestalozzianum, Zurich

Site of the school for poor children, founded in 1818, in which Pestalozzi hoped to realise his ideal of the education of the poor. It was, however, amalgamated with the Institute in Schloss Yverdon in the following year.

THE HOUSE IN BRUGG, WHERE PESTALOZZI DIED

Photograph, 1926, in the possession of the Pestalozzianum, Zurich

Pestalozzi died in the house with the memorial tablet on February 17th 1827. He was brought, seriously ill, from the Neuhof to Brugg on February 15th, in order to be within reach of the doctor.

PESTALOZZI'S GRAVE BY THE SCHOOL HOUSE IN BIRR

Engraving in the possession of the Pestalozzianum, Zurich

Pestalozzi lies buried under the rose-tree.

MANUSCRIPTS AND DOCUMENTS

MANUSCRIPTS AND DOCUMENTS

Plate 131 *Taufwunsch* for Joh. Heinrich Pestalozzi, 1746

» 132 Pestalozzi's father applies for clerical work, 1751

» 133 Caspar Bluntschli to Joh. Caspar Schulthess, 1766

» 134 Pestalozzi to Anna Schulthess, 1767

» 135 Anna Schulthess to Pestalozzi, 1767

» 136 Admission of Pestalozzi to the *Zum Schwarzen Garten* Society, 1769

» 137 Barbara Grosse-Pestalozzi to Joh. Caspar Lavater, 1777

» 138 Joh. Baptist Pestalozzi to Joh. Georg Schulthess, 1780

» 139 Susanna Pestalozzi-Hotz to her son and daughter-in-law, 1785

» 140 Jakob Pestalozzi to his father, 1785

» 141 and 142 Notes by Pestalozzi, about 1790

» 143 Pestalozzi to Joh. Caspar Lavater, 1798

» 144 Anna Pestalozzi-Schulthess's diary, 1799—1801

» 145 Josef Schmid to Dr. François Adam Lejeune, 1807

» 146 Johannes Niederer to Pestalozzi, 1816

» 147 Hermann Krüsi to Pestalozzi, 1817

» 148 Georg Heinrich Ludwig Nicolovius to Pestalozzi, 1817

» 149 Autobiographic notes by Lisabeth Krüsi, née Näf, about 1825

PLATE 131

TEXT

Deß Herrn Jesu Theures Blut.
Sey deiner Seelen Höchstes Gut!

Also wünschet Seinem Lieben Tauff-Götti
Johann Heinnrich Pestaluz.
welcher das Sacramment deß Heil. Tauffs in der Kirchen zum großen Münster in
Zürich Empfangen
den 12 ten Jenner 1746.
Seine getreue Tauffzeugin.

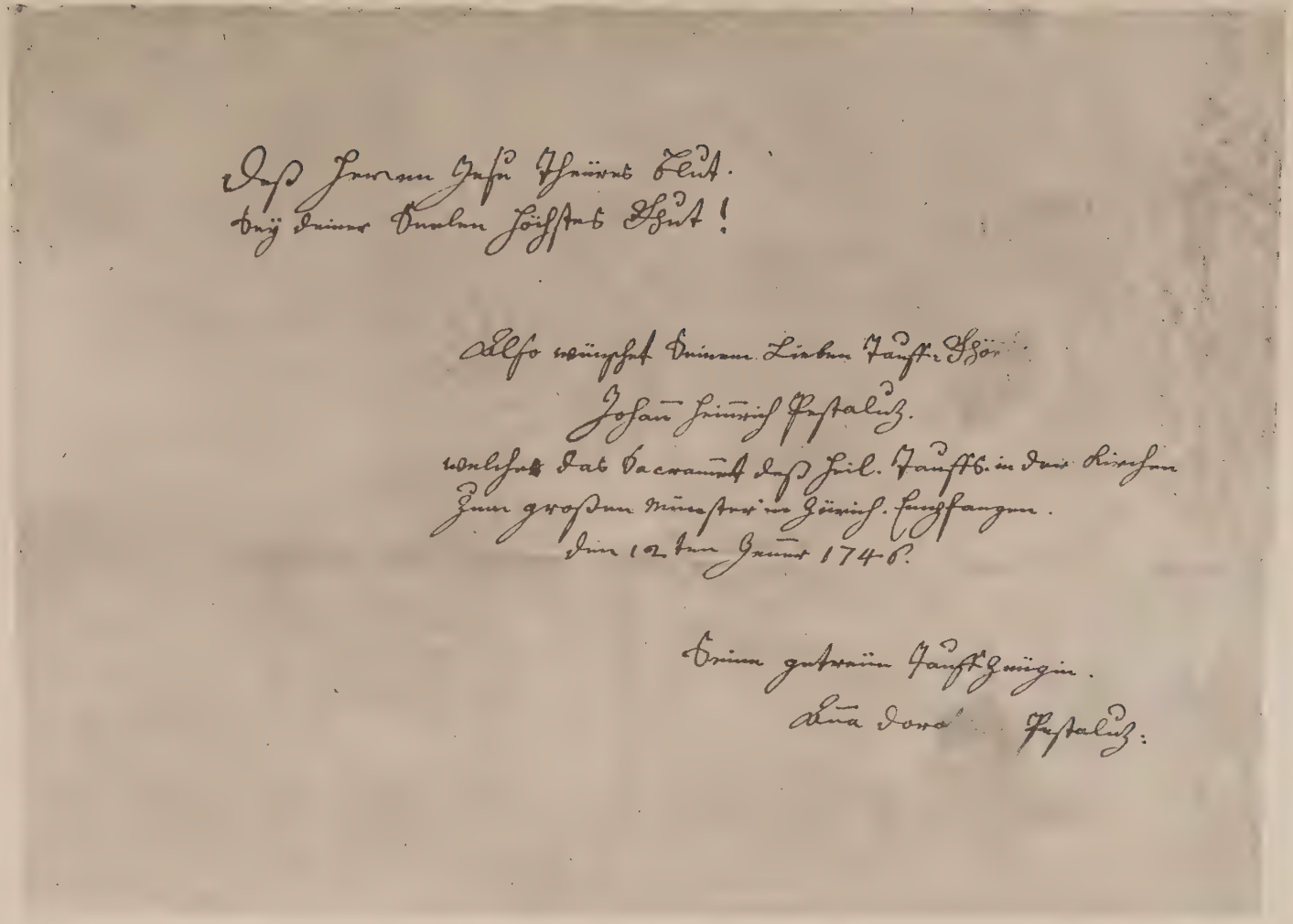
Anna Dorothea Pestaluz.

TRANSLATION

May Our Saviour Jesu's precious Blood
Be ever to thy Soul its highest Good!

Is the wish for her dear Godchild
Johann Heinrich Pestaluz
who received the Sacrament of Holy Baptism in the Church of the Grossmünster
in Zurich
January 12th, 1746
of his faithful Godmother

Anna Dorothea Pestaluz.



Deß Herrn Jesu Theüres Blut.
Sey deiner Seelen höchstes Gut!

Also wünschet Seinem Lieben Tauff-Chör
Johan Heinrich Pestaluz.
welches das Sacrament deß heil. Tauffs in der Kirchen
zum großen Münster in Zürich. Empfangen.
den 12ten Jenner 1746.

Seine getreüe Tauffzeugin.
Anna dora Pestaluz:

«TAUFWUNSCH» FOR JOH. HEINRICH PESTALOZZI
1746

TEXT of the whole letter

[Gnädiger Herr Bürgermeister

Hochgeachte Hoch und wohl Edel gebohrne wohl Edelveste, wohl Eheren und Nothveste, frome, vornehme, vorsichtige, und weise, Jnsonders gnädige Herren und Obere.

Wann die Tägliche Erfahrung Ein unverwürfliches Beweisthum ist, wie hochgönstig und wohlmeinend, Sie gnädige Mn. Hgherren und Oberen gegen Dero verburgerte und angehörige insgemein, und gegen Einen Jeden, so Bey Hochdenenselben sich in Ehrenbietigkeit, um Eine gnad bewerben Thuet, Insbesonders Erzeigen, Ein solches nun, nebst überlegung meiner Burgerlichen pflichten, und Eignem Verlangen meinen vilen müsigen Stunden fürohin Eine bessere anwand zu verschaffen, hat mich vor Einiger Zeit ange fristhet, bey Mr. Hochgeehrten Herren Unterschreiber Hirzel, um den acceß in Euer Mnrgnd Herren wie Jederweilen, so auch dermahlen unter Ehrengedachten Herren Best-bestelte-Rat-Unterschreiberkanzley, gezimmenden Fleißes anzumelden, Hierin auch großgönstige willfahr Erhalten. Nunmehro aber umb die würkliche Einverleibung derselben zu Euch Mngndherren und Oberen in aller underthänigkeit, wir durch gegenwärthige demühtigste Supplique beschihet, mich zu wenden; Als Ihnen Hochgedacht Dieselben, auf obige gründe mich getrost bezihende, Ehrenbietigst Ersuchen disere schon so vielen mitburgern ertheilte gnad auch meiner wenigkeit Hochgönstig angedeihen zu lassen, gnädig erhaltenden fahls solle Ein underthenige Erkandtlichkeit, durch Erweisung geflissener obschon geringfügiger arbeit mein vornemmster Vorwurff seyn.

Den obersten Regenten inmitlest herzinigklich] Erflehende, daß Er Euch Mngnd. Hhn und Oberen fehrners in Hohen wohlsein Erhalten Dero ganzer Stat und Land Bis dahin so heilsamm und Ersprieslich gewesene Rathschläge weiterhin seegnen, und sein Himlisches gedeyen dazu geben wolle; zu Dero Hohen Gonst und Wohlgewogenheit mich allerunderthenigst recomandierender habe die Ehr mit Tiefster respects versicherung zu sein

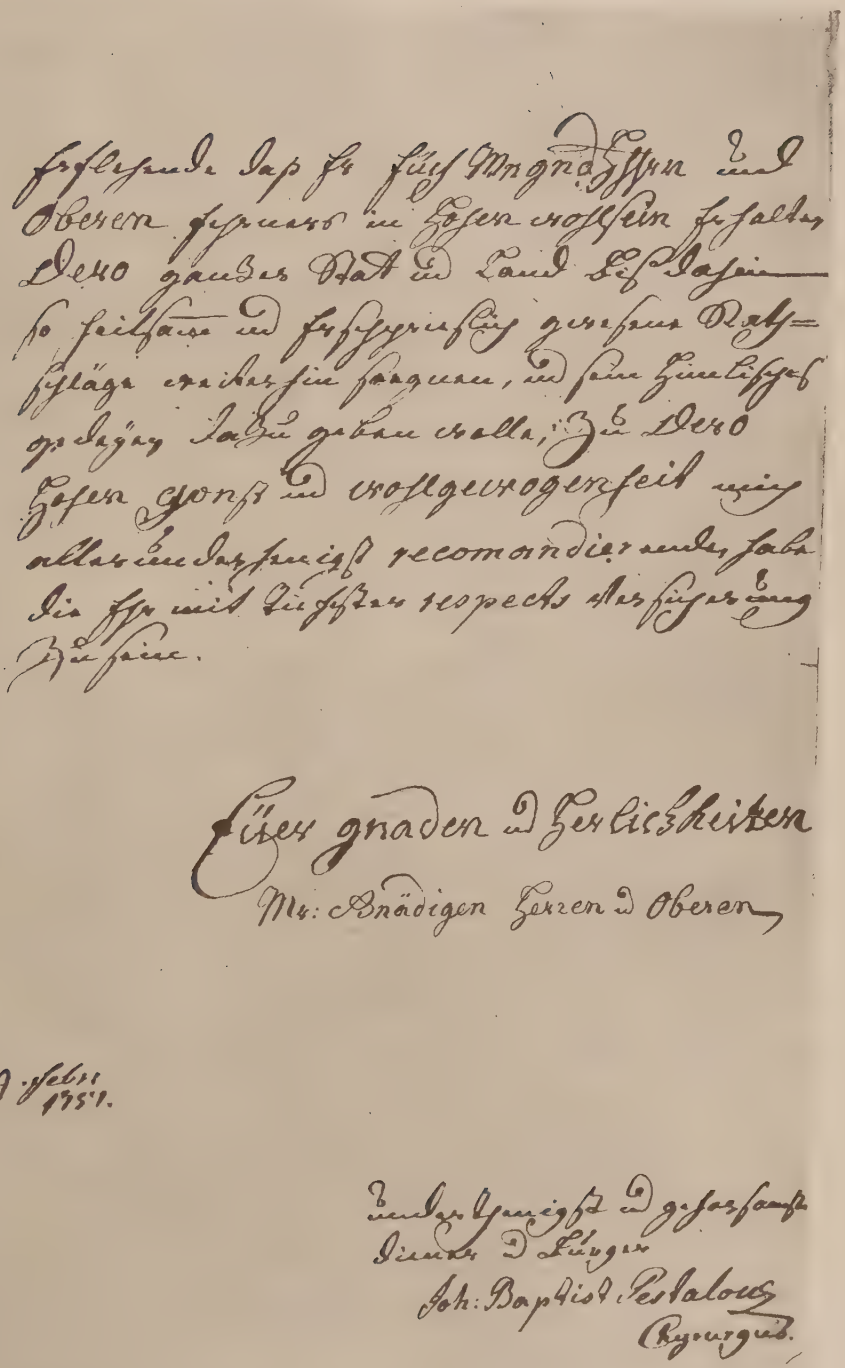
Euer Gnaden und Herlichkeiten
Mr: Gnädigen Herren und Oberen

underthenigst und gehorsamster
Diener und Burger

Den 29. Febr:
1751.

Joh. Baptist Pestalouz
Chyrurgus.

For contents, see Introduction, p. 3



PESTALOZZI'S FATHER JOH. BAPTIST PESTALOZZI, 1718—1751
applies for clerical work in the *Stadtkanzlei*, 1751
(End of the letter)

TEXT

Schon sechs tage hab' ich dich nicht wider gesehn Liebster Schultheß, und noch mehrere werde ich dich nicht sehn, und doch war ich froh als ihr weg waret. Es waren euer zu viel. Ich genoß weder dich, noch meinen wyß, ich sah' euch nur — sonst nichts. Nachher war meine Seele still in sich gehüllt, sanfft wie ich sie nach dem lezten Todeskampfe wünschte. Da schrieb' ich den anfang dieses Beygelegten Briefes, und gieng' durch's dorf, besuchte einiche Hütten wo noch der fride wohnet. In manchem Hauß sah' ich noch alte Einfalt, und das vorurtheil ligt vielen weniger im Herzen, als auf der Zunge. Ja wann ein weiser Menschenfreund hier wohnte, er würde das ganze kleine Dorf umschaffen — Noch mehr werd' ich entdeken und dir sagen. Du wilst ich sol von mir selbst reden: Und da kan ich dir die freude machen ich kan dir sagen daß ich mich wohl befinde, beßer als da ihr weggienget. Die Cur brauch ich vier tage erst, und kan also von ihrer wirkung noch nichts Bestimmtes sagen. Das meiste thut, wie du sahst der schöne Ort, dem gram unzugänglich wär' er, hätte ich ihn ganz in euern Mauern zurücklaßen können, doch pflügt er nicht mehr so tief die stirne — Aber meine Seele denkt immer an meine Freunde die ich Liebe. wenn ich eine schöne gegend durchstreife, die mich entzükt, dann wil ich meine Entzükung meinen Freunden sagen. Dir mein Schultheß! und dir heiligem Mädchen, das seine liebe krönt, auch deiner zärtlichen Schwester, schön ist ihr aug, wann sie der Freundschafft lächelt, noch schöner wann sie erweicht aus Mittleid, oder für die tugend eingenohmen eine zitternde thräne im aug hat — Aber wann Sie dein Mädchen in ihre schwesterliche umarmung schließen wird, werden sie beyde dich entzüken — Der Himmel hat beyder Herze zur Liebe gebildet, in das meine legt' er der Freundsch: same, der jez aufkeimt aber vom ungewitter eh' er früchte bringt', erschlagen wird — auch dir mein wyß! und dir mein mir ähnlicher Escher. wolff ist an meiner seite, ich liebe den redlichen Jüngling, und er verdienet noch mehr. aber seine Seele hat nicht die Zärtlichk: der meinigen! — Ja noch seh' ich euch alle wider meine Freunde, — Euch die wir uns liebten, ja noch offt ergießt mein aug an eurer Brust und auf eure wangen thränen der Freundsch: und hinter den wolken glänzt eine Sonne, die alle dieses lebens verdunkelt. Ich umarme dich mein Schultheß u. bin aus vollem Herzen Dein Bluntschli.

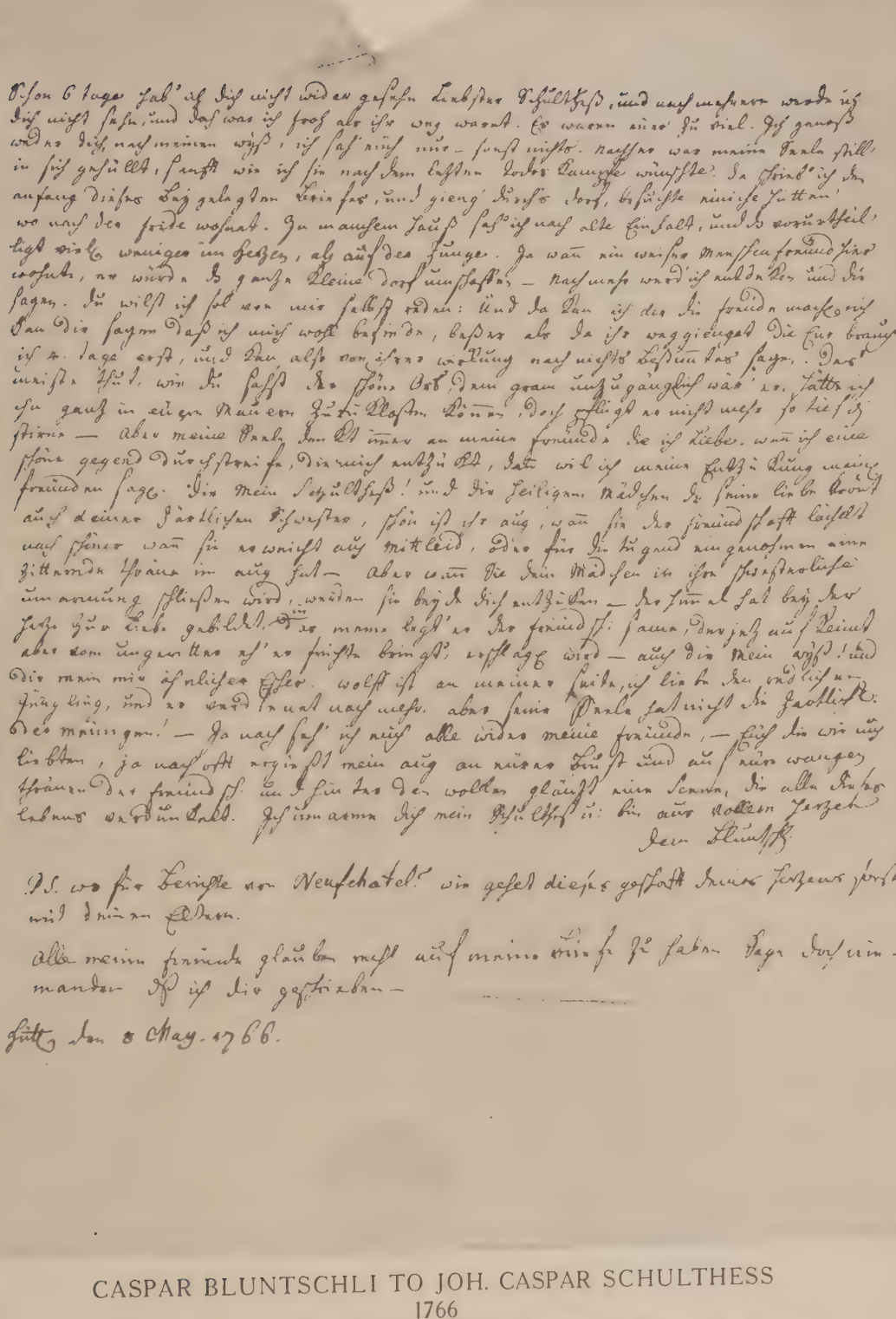
PS. was für Berichte von Neufchatel? wie gehet dieses geschäfft deines Herzens sonst mit deinen Eltern.

Alle meine Freunde glauben recht auf meine Briefe zu haben. Sage doch niemanden daß ich dir geschrieben. — — —

Hütten den 8 May. 1766.

SUMMARY

Bluntschli, who is staying at Hütten for the sake of his health, gives a reassuring account of his condition. He gives eloquent expression to his affection for his young friends, among whom he counts Schulthess's sister and fiancée, in recollection of their too brief visit.



CASPAR BLUNTSCHLI TO JOH. CASPAR SCHULTHESS

1766

Caspar Bluntschli, nicknamed "Menalk" by his friends, student of theology, the mutual friend of Pestalozzi and the Schulthess family, died young.

PLATE 134

TEXT

Mademoiselle!

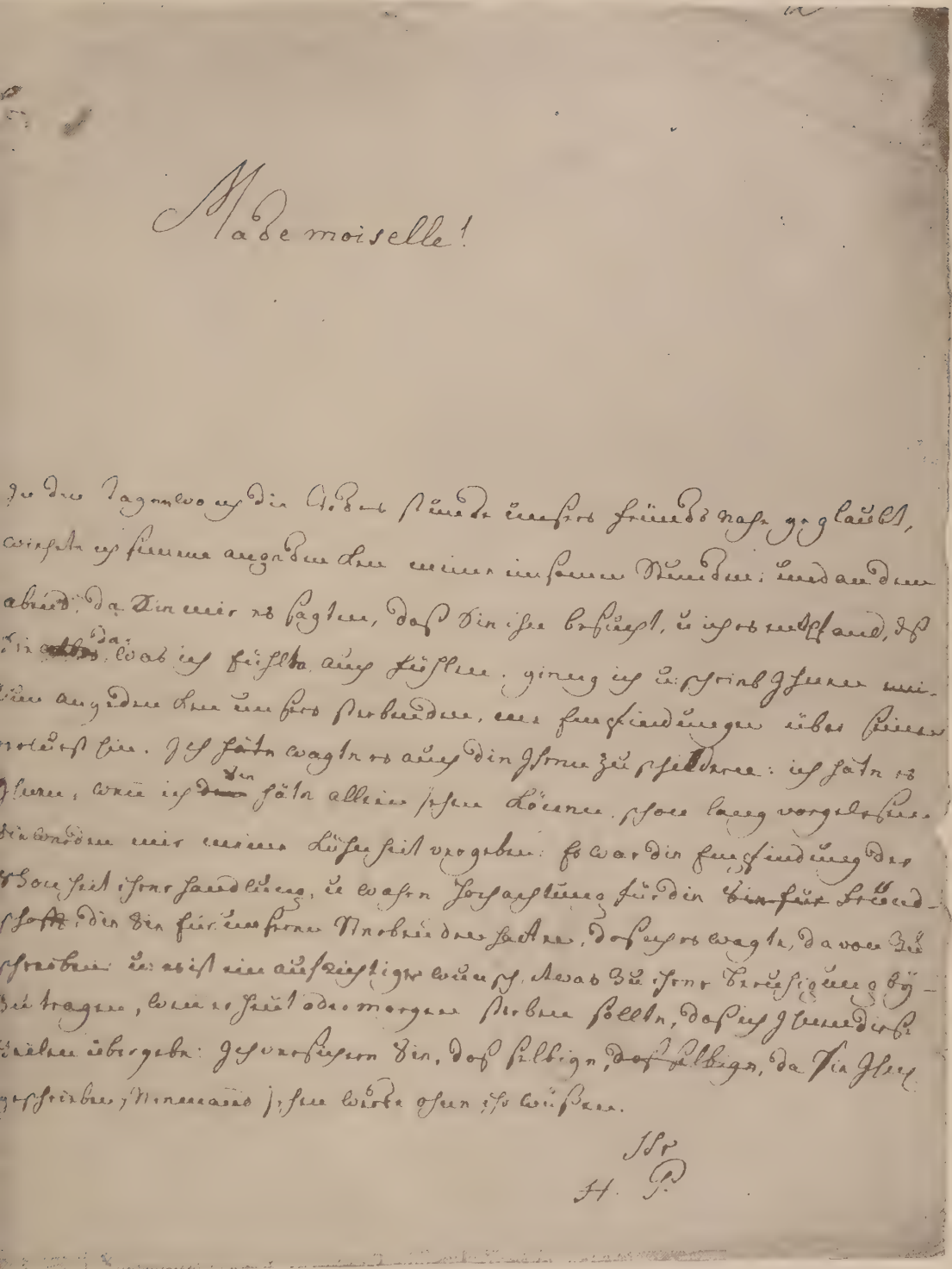
In den Tagen wo ich die Todesstunde unsers Fründs nahe geglaubt wiehete ich seinem angedenken meine einsamen Stunden; und an dem abend, da Sie mir es sagten, daß Sie ihn besucht, u: ich es empfand, daß Sie (alles) das, was ich fühlte, auch fühlen, gieng ich u: schrieb Ihnen (meine) zum angedenken unsers sterbenden, meine Empfindungen über seinen verlurst hin. Ich (häte) wagte es auch die Ihren zu schildern: ich häte es Ihnen, wenn ich (den) Sie häte allein sehen können, schon lang vorgelesen. Sie werden mir meine Kühnheit vergeben: Es war die Empfindung der Schönheit ihrer Handlung, u wahre Hochachtung für die (Sie für) Fründschafft, die Sie für unseren Sterbenden hatten, daß ich es wagte, davon zu schreiben u: es ist ein aufrichtiger wunsch, etwas zu ihrer Beruhigung byzutragen, wenn er heut oder morgen sterben sollte, daß ich Ihnen diese Zeilen übergebe: Ich versichere Sie, daß selbige (daß selbige), da sie Ihnen geschrieben, Niemand sehen werde ohne ihr wüßen.

Ihr

H. P.

SUMMARY

Deeply moved by the tears of Anna, whom he had seen weeping as she left the death-bed of their mutual friend Menalk, Pestalozzi has written the "Memorial of Menalk", and sends it to her, to show his recognition of the "beauty of her action" and as a proof of his friendship.



PESTALOZZI TO ANNA SCHULTHESS
1767
(Shortly before the death of Bluntschli)

PLATE 135

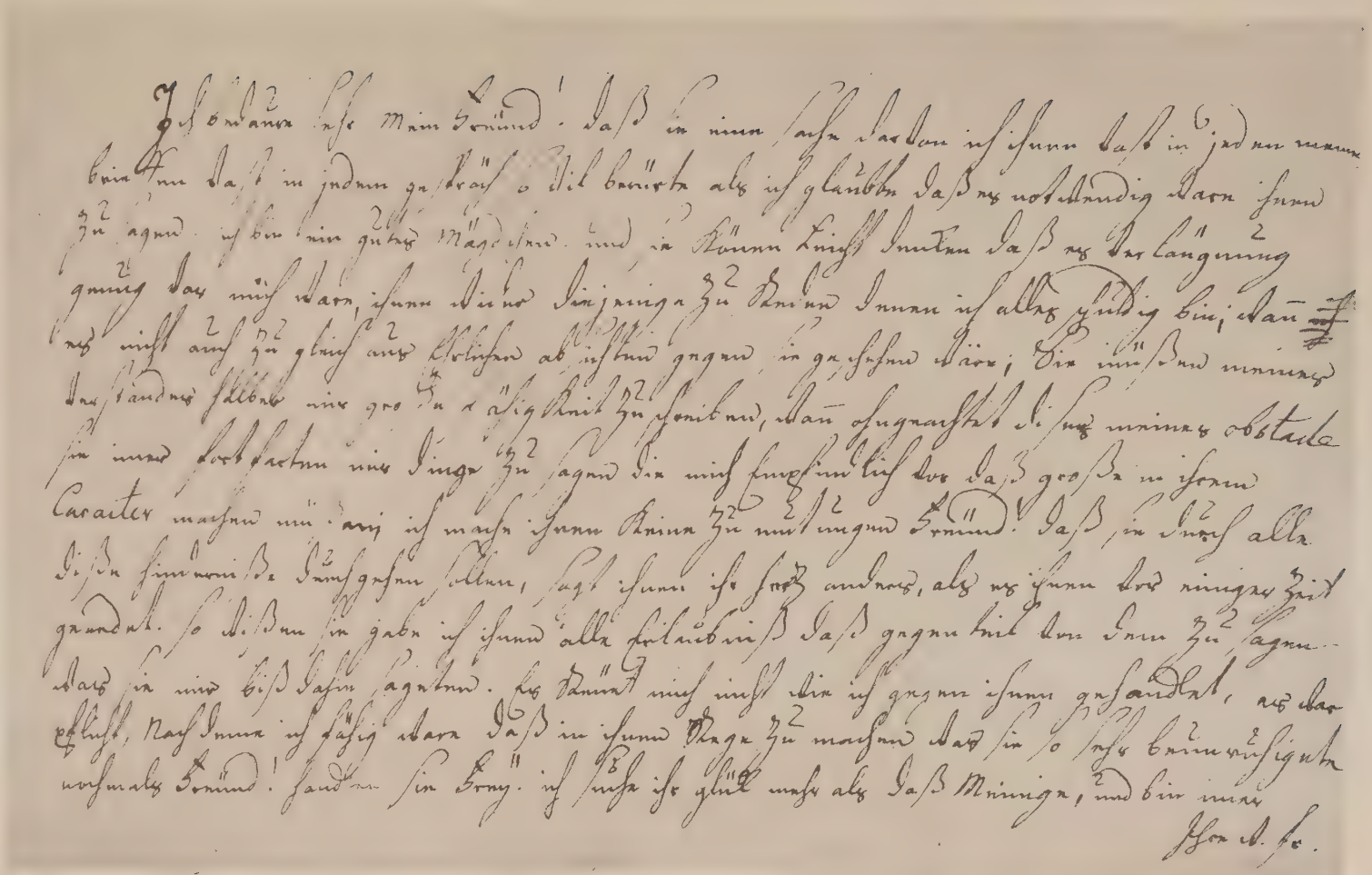
TEXT

Ich bedaure sehr Mein Freund! daß sie eine sache darvon ich ihnen vast in jedem meiner brieffen vast in jedem gespräch so vil berürte als ich glaubte daß es notwendig ware ihnen zu sagen. ich bin ein gutes Mägdchen. und sie könen Leicht denken daß es verläugnung genug vor mich ware, ihnen wider diejenige zu Reden denen ich alles schuldig bin; wann (ich) es nicht auch zu gleich aus Ehrlichen absichten gegen sie geschehen wäre; Sie müßen meines verstandes halber mir große Fähigkeit zuschreiben, wann ohngeachtet dieses meines obstacle sie imer fortfarten mir Dinge zu sagen die mich Empfindlich vor daß große in ihrem Caracter machen müßen; ich mache ihnen keine Zumutungen Freund! daß sie durch alle dieße hinderniße durchgehen sollen, sagt ihnen ihr Herz anders, als es ihnen vor einiger Zeit geredet, so wißen sie gebe ich ihnen alle Erlaubniß daß gegenteil von dem zu sagen was sie mir biß dahin sageten. Es Reuet mich nicht, wie ich gegen ihnen gehandlet, es war pflicht, Nach deme ich fähig ware daß in ihnen Rege zu machen was sie so sehr beunruhigete. nochmals Freund! handlen sie Frey, ich suche ihr glük mehr als daß Meinige, und bin imer

Ihre A. Sc.

SUMMARY

Anna Schulthess, pressed for a decision by Pestalozzi, once more warns him, as often before, of the difficulties which her parents are putting in the way of their marriage. She has already, for Pestalozzi's sake, been obliged to speak and behave almost undutifully to them. She begs him to reconsider the matter quietly, and if he should have come to think differently, she would not regret the past; she urges him to act independently and to think of his own happiness rather than of hers.



ANNA SCHULTHESS TO PESTALOZZI
1767

PLATE 136

TEXT

Ao 1769.

Actum

Donstag den 5.ten Jan. Berchtoldi-Gebott prntbs Hh. Pfleg. Wiser u. Löbl. Gesellschafft —

Bey welchem Anlaase Eine Löbl. Gesellschafft die Ehre genoße, zum 1.^{en} Mahl Ihro Gnad. u: Weisheit Herren Bürgermstr Hs. Conrad Heidegger mit dieser höchstverdienten Würde bekleidet bey sich zu sehen.

Auf das selbsteigene Anmelden und Ehrerbiethig gethane bitte um die zu vergönstigende Gesellschafftsgerechtigkeits-erneuerung ward

Hr. Joh. Heinrich Pestalutz

Hr. Chirurgi Baptist Pestalutzen sel. hinterlaßenen Sohn, in seinem dießfähligen begehren willfährig entsprochen, und von demselbigen mittelst geleisteten Handgelübs die geflißene beobachtung der ablesend angehörten Gesellschaffts-Satzungen Angelobet.

TRANSLATION

Anno 1769.

Actum

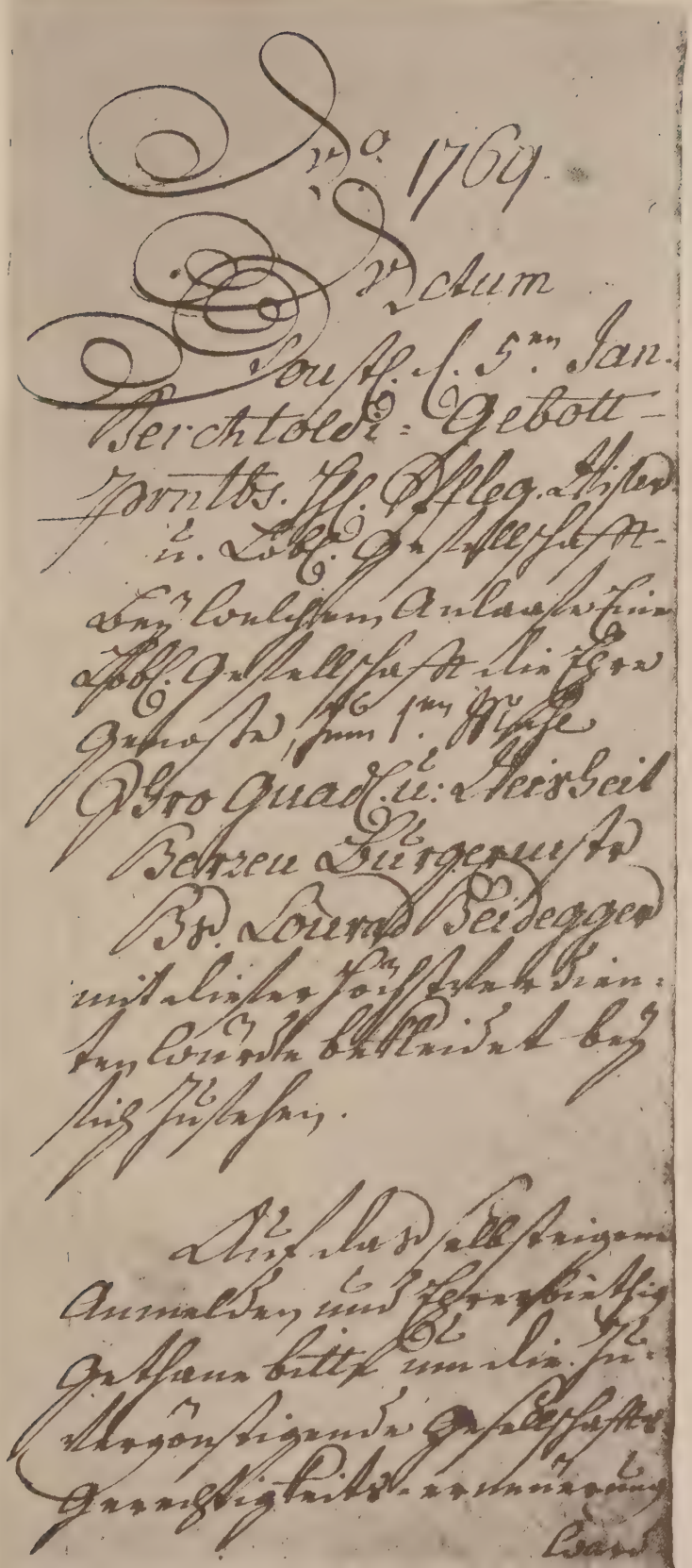
Thursday, January 5th, "Berchtold" Assembly, in the presence of the Worshipful Warden Wiser and the Honourable Company.

On which occasion the Honourable Company enjoyed for the first time the Honour of the presence among them of His Worship Burgomaster Hs. Conrad Heidegger, invested with the insignia of his well-merited dignity.

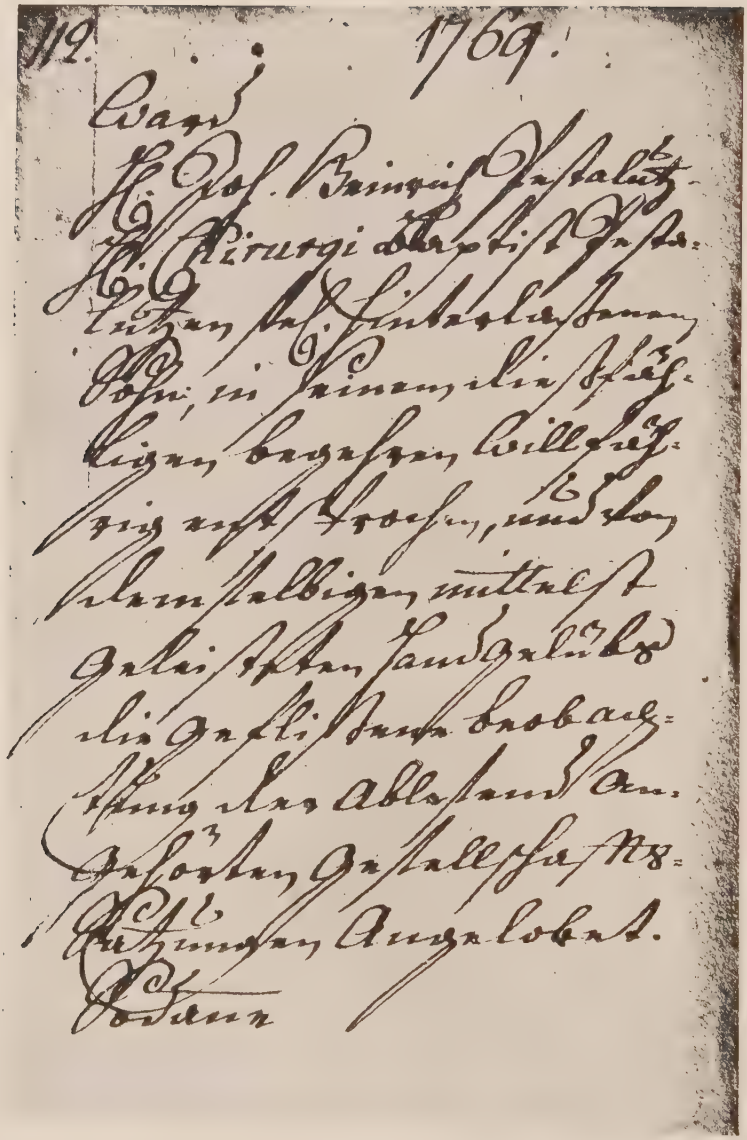
On his own application and humble request for renewal of the right of membership

Hr. Joh. Heinrich Pestalutz

son of the defunct Surgeon Baptist Pestalutz, was granted the said request, the Statutes of the Company were read to him, and the Oath of loyal observance of the same taken by him.



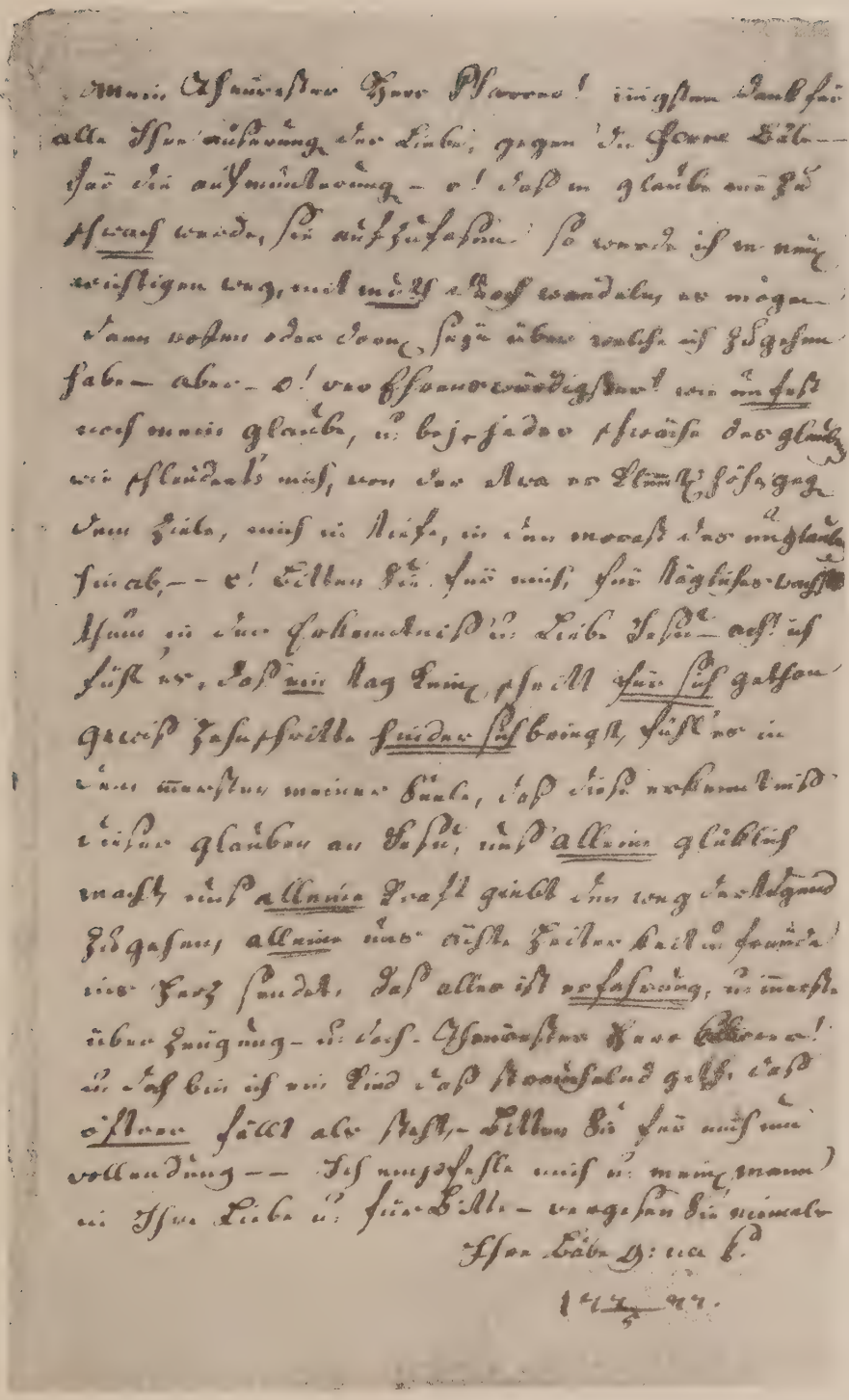
For explanatory text
see next page.



«BOTBUCH» OF THE «ZUM SCHWARZEN GARTEN» SOCIETY

In the possession of the Zentralbibliothek, Zurich

Report of the admission of Joh. Heinrich Pestalozzi as member on January 5th, 1769. Pestalozzi had the right of membership of this society, to which his father had belonged as surgeon, even though he did not exercise his father's profession. As member of the society, he belonged to the *Schmidenzunft*.



PESTALOZZIS SISTER BARBARA GROSSE, 1751—1832, TO JOH. CASPAR LAVATER
1777

PLATE 138

TEXT of the whole letter

A Monsieur

[Monsieur Jean George Schultheß
Ministre de l'Eglise reformée
de Wipkingen
auf Dorf
a Zuric
dans la Suisse.

Hochachtungs verEhrungswürdiger Herr!

Ich weiß daß Sie schon vielmahl die Hülffe und der Trost unglücklicher gewesen, auch in diesem (gesch) gesichtspunkt wende ich mich nun auch an Sie, und bitte Ihnen meine Freyheit mir zu vergeben.

Wiedrum einen Schritt in meinem leben gethan, den ich biß an das Ende meines lebens vieleicht bereuen werde, nicht um meinetwillen Gott weiß es sonder um meiner Mutter und meiner Geschwister willen. Ach Gott wird mir (mir) meine liebe verEhrungswürdige Mutter (noch) mir ich dorf nicht denken ganz verzeihen, / nur doch auch nicht den Fluch an den Hals wünschen / lebt sie auch noch und wie, o Gott wie sehr martert mich das, und wie wird es mich martern, das ich keinen Bericht empfangen kan — und mein Bruder auch mein Bruder Gott o Gott wie geht es Ihm o wie habe ich eine last auf mein gewissen — O Gott biß Ihnen Gnädig alle Züchtigungen die meiner jez erwarten werde ich mit ergebnen willen an Gott annehmen — wenn nur mein liebe ewig geliebte Mutter nicht zu sehr darunter erlieget, nur dieß ist mein einziger Wurm der mich stündlich naget — längstes biß am Sontag werde ich auf dem Meere seyn um von hier nach London zu gehen, und dort auf einem Kriegsschiffe Dienste nehmen, Gott lasse mich unter seiner obsicht meine Reiße antretten, und mit der Zeit auch vollenden — O Vatterland, o liebe Mutter, O Bruder O Schwester O Freunde meine aussichten sind so weit daß ich euch alle in meinem Leben nicht mehr sehen werde, euer Angedenken aber soll mir heilig in meiner (sey) Seele seyn — O ewig liebe Mutter, ach Gott auch dir soll ich nicht mehr sehen — nein, und weit von Ihro entfehrnt seyn O Gott wie schmerzet dieß — nun wenn ich nur soviel Gnade von Gott bekomme daß ich jeder Zeit meine Pflicht und Schuldigkeit in allem was ich thue beobachte, mehr O Gott verlange ich nicht, du wirst mich nicht verlassen noch ganz verstoßen —

Nun bitte ich Ihnen daß sie doch die gewogenheit vor mich haben und meiner lieben Mutter wenn es Ihnen nicht zu beschwehrlich fallt, und meinem Babeli, welches ich auch gewiß sehr erzörnt habe, und meinem lieben Bruder sagen thetten, daß ich noch lebe, daß ich auf der See Dienste suchen werde und daß ich wenn es mir auch nur immer möglich alle Jahr auch einen Bericht von mir geben werde —

Aber mein Vatterland, und die darin werde ich schwerlich wieder sehen — und nehme also von allen Abschied — Gott erhalte alle gesund, und Ihnen und Ihre liebste Familien in seinem besten Seegen — Auch dem Herr Heinrich Schultheiß der bey meinem Bruder ist und seiner liebsten Familen alles Heil und aller Seegen von Gott —

Gott wie bin ich so verstört so verwirrt — was vor ein Ende nihmt auch noch meine lebens Bahn —]

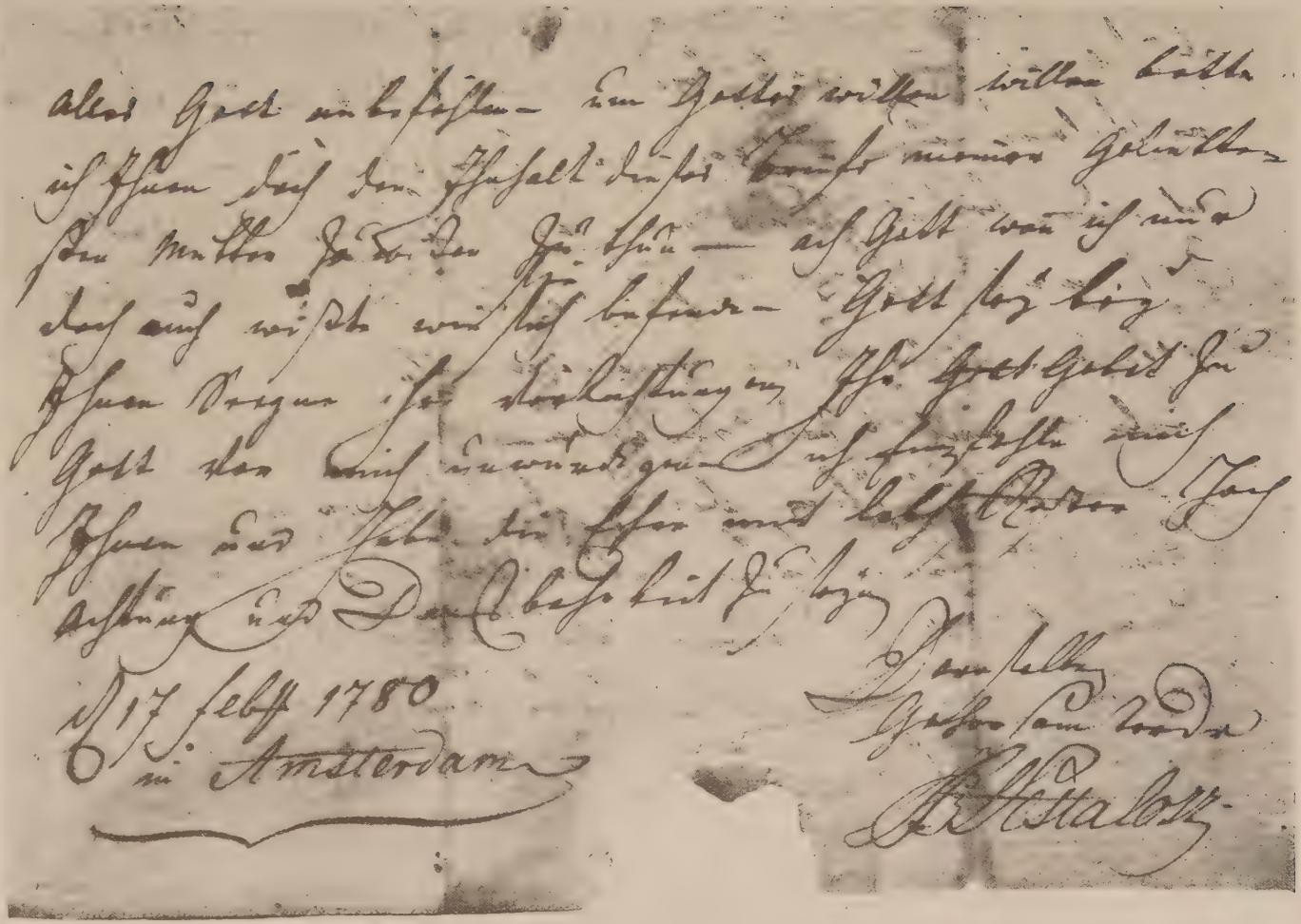
Alles Gott anbefohlen — um Gottes willen willen bitte ich Ihnen doch den Ihnhalt dieses Briefs meiner Geliebtesten Mutter zu wissen zu thun — ach Gott wann ich nur doch auch wißte wie sich befende — Gott sey bey Ihnen, Seegne ihre verrichtungen, Ihr (Gebt) Gebet zu Gott vor mich unwürdigen — ich Empfehle mich Ihnen und habe die Ehre mit lebhafftester Hochachtung und Dankbahrkeit zu seyn

Deroselben
Gehorsamster D[iene]r
J. B. Pestalozzi

Den 17 Febr. 1780
in Amsterdam.

SUMMARY

Pestalozzi's brother, Joh. Baptist, takes leave, in extravagant language, of his friends and relations, accusing himself of idleness and a wasted life, of neglect of duty towards his family, friends and country. He proposes to enlist in London and to begin a new life overseas.



PESTALOZZI'S BROTHER, JOH. BAPTIST, TO JOH. GEORG SCHULTHESS

1780

(End of the letter)

Pestalozzi's brother, born in 1742, led an irregular life, disappeared, and was never heard of again.

PLATE 139

TEXT

Meine Lieben Kinder

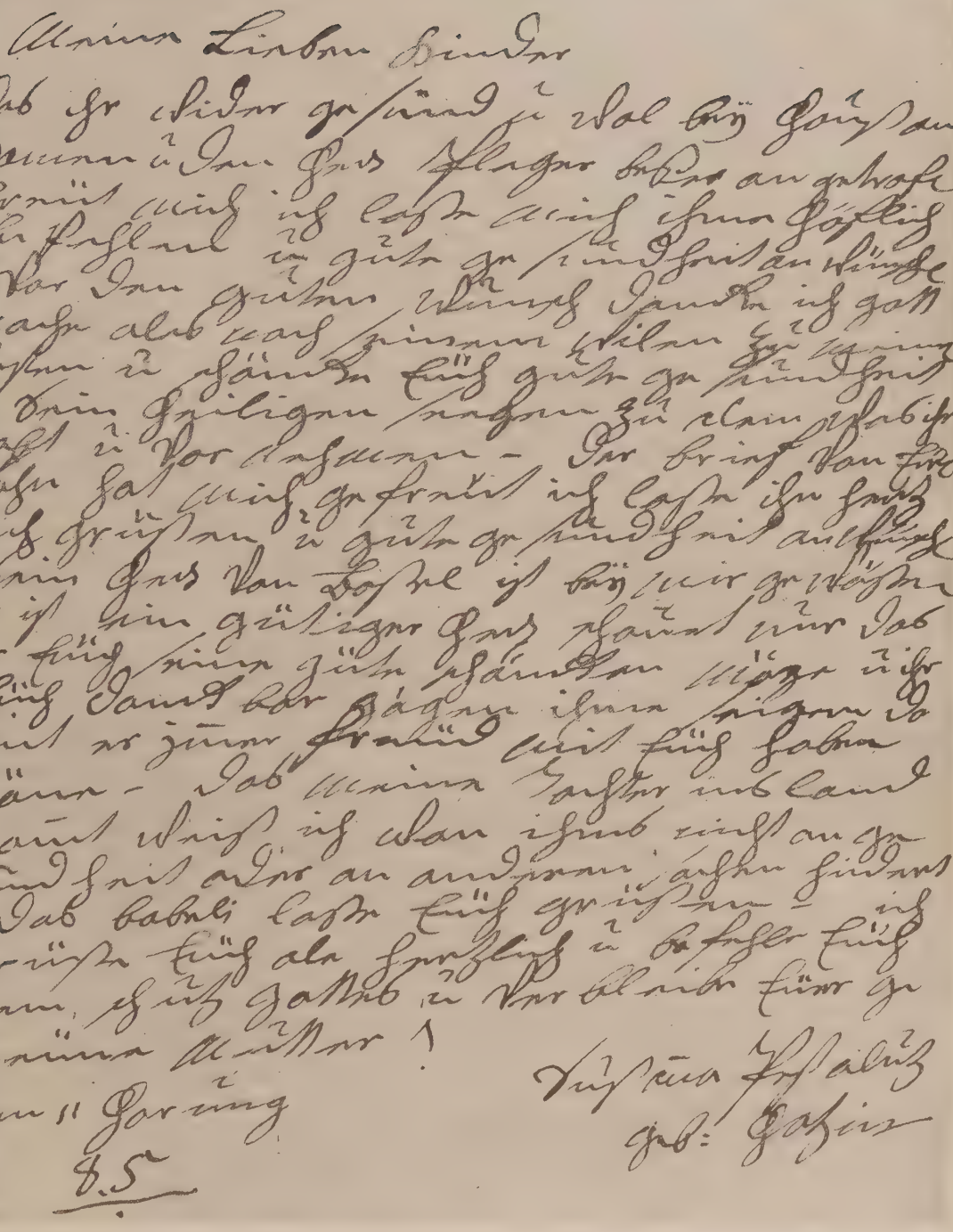
Das ihr wider gesund u wol bey Hauß ankomen u den Herr Pfleger beßer angetrofen, freut mich, ich laße mich ihme höflich Enpfehlen u gute gesundheit anwünschen. Vor den guten Wunsch danke ich, gott mache ales nach seinem wilen zu meinem besten u schänke Euch gute gesundheit u Sein Heiligen seegen zu dem was ihr habt u vornehmen — Der brief von Eurem Sohn hat mich gefreut ich laße ihn herzlich grüßen u gute gesundheit anwünschen. Sein Herr von Baßel ist bey mir gewäßen, er ist ein gütiger Herr, schauet nur, das er Euch seine güte schänken möge u ihr Euch dankbar gägen ihme seigen damit er jmmer Freud mit Euch haben köne — Das meine Tochter ins land kommt, weiß ich wan ihms nicht an gesundheit oder an anderen sachen hindert. Das babeli laße Euch grüßen — ich grüße Euch ale herzlich u befehle Euch dem schuz Gottes u verbleibe Euer getreune Mutter!

den 11 Horung [17]85.

Susanna Pestaluz
geb. Hotzin

SUMMARY

Pestalozzi's mother expresses her warm interest in how her family and relations fare, thanks her grandson Jakob for his letter, and reports the visit of the good friend Battier, as well as the coming visit of her daughter Barbara from Leipzig.



SUSANNA PESTALOZZI-HOTZ, 1720—1796, TO HER SON AND DAUGHTER-IN-LAW
1785

PLATE 140

TEXT

Lieber Papa!

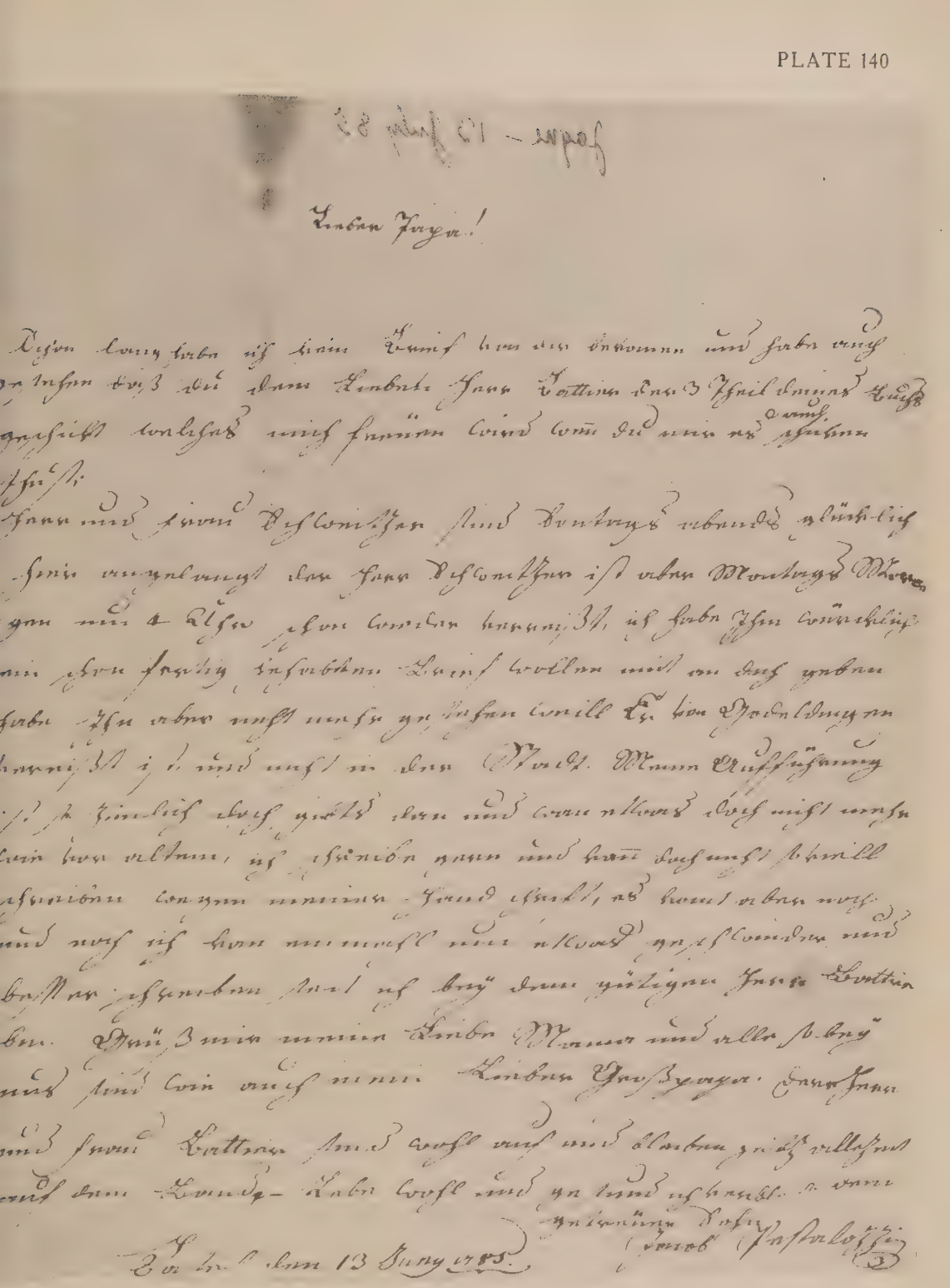
Schon lang hab ich kein Brief von dir bekomen und habe auch gesehen daß du dem Lieben Herr Battier der 3 Theil deines Buchs geschickt, welches mich freuen wird; wenn du mir es auch schicken thust;

Herr und Frau Schweitzer sind Sontags abends glücklich hier angelangt der Herr Schweitzer ist aber Montags Morgen um 4 Uhr schon wieder verreißt, ich habe ihm würcklich ein schon fertig gehabten Brief wollen mit an dich geben, habe Ihn aber nicht mehr gesehen, weill Er von Godeldingen vereißt ist und nicht in der Stadt. Meine Aufführung ist so zimlich, doch gibts dan und wan etwas doch nicht mehr wie vor altem, ich schreibe gern und kann doch nicht so viell schreiben wegen meiner Handschrift, es komt aber noch und noch ich kan einmahl um etwas geschwinder und beßer schreiben, seit ich bey dem gütigen Herr Battier bin. Grüß mir meine Liebe Mama und alle so bey uns sind, wie auch mein Lieber Großpapa. Der Herr und Frau Battier sind wohl auf und bleiben jetz allezeit auf dem Land. — Lebe wohl und gesund ich verbleibe dein getreuer Sohn

Basel den 13 Juny 1785. Jacob Pestalozzi.

SUMMARY

Jakob Pestalozzi asks his father for the third part of *Lienhard und Gertrud*, which his master Battier has already received, conveys to his father the good wishes of Herr and Frau Schweizer, who have passed through Basle, and reports satisfactory progress in his work, particularly in writing, which always gave him trouble.



JAKOB PESTALOZZI TO HIS FATHER
1785

TEXT

ad M[einen] B[uch] üb[er] d[en] M[enschen]

der Auftritt mit Hubers Kind wegen dem Stehlen — die ursachen worum Gertrud lebhafftigkeit hartherzigkeit wird — eines gemeinen Kinds lebhafftigkeit wird weniger chenirt — sein Hang zur Fryheit wird minder durch anmaßungen gereizt —

Diese anmaßungen veranlaßen die abscheuliche Handlungen von kindren — die andren kleider verderben ..... im Roßstahl verderben —

Hambergers Zuverlesige Nachrichten von den vornehmsten Schrifftstelleren von anfang der Welt bis 1500.

Platners antropologie
aphorism — Home Geschichte der Menschheit
Tyge Rothe über Einfluß der christlichen Rel. auf die Menschheit. [Note by Anna Pestalozzi].
Teologia Gentilium Pfaneri
Meiners Geschichte der Religion.

The exact titles are as follows:

Hamberger, Georg Christoph. Zuverlässige Nachrichten von den vornehmsten Schriftstellern vom Anfang der Welt bis 1500. 4 Theile. Lemgo 1756—64.

Platner, Ernst. Anthropologie für Ärzte und Weltweise. Leipzig 1772, ev. Neue Anthropologie ... 1790.

Platner, Ernst. Philosophische Aphorismen. 2 Theile. Leipzig 1776—82.

Home, Henry. Sketches of the history of man. 2 vols. Edinburgh 1774.

Rothe, Tyge. Christendomnens Virkning paa Folkenes Tilstand in Europa. 5 Deel. Kjobenhavn 1774—83.

Pfannerus, Tobias. Systema theologiae gentilis purioris. Basel 1679.

Meiners, Christoph. Grundriß der Geschichte aller Religionen. Lemgo 1785, ev. 2d ed. 1787.

TRANSLATION

From my Book on Man.

The scene with Huber's child on account of the theft — the reasons why Gertrud's liveliness turns to hard-heartedness — the liveliness of an ordinary child is less repressed — his impulse to freedom is less aggravated by excessive demands upon him.

These excessive demands are the cause of abominable actions by children — who spoil each others' clothes — spoil them in the stable —

Hamberger's "Trustworthy Accounts of the most Famous Writers of the World from the Beginning of the World till 1500"

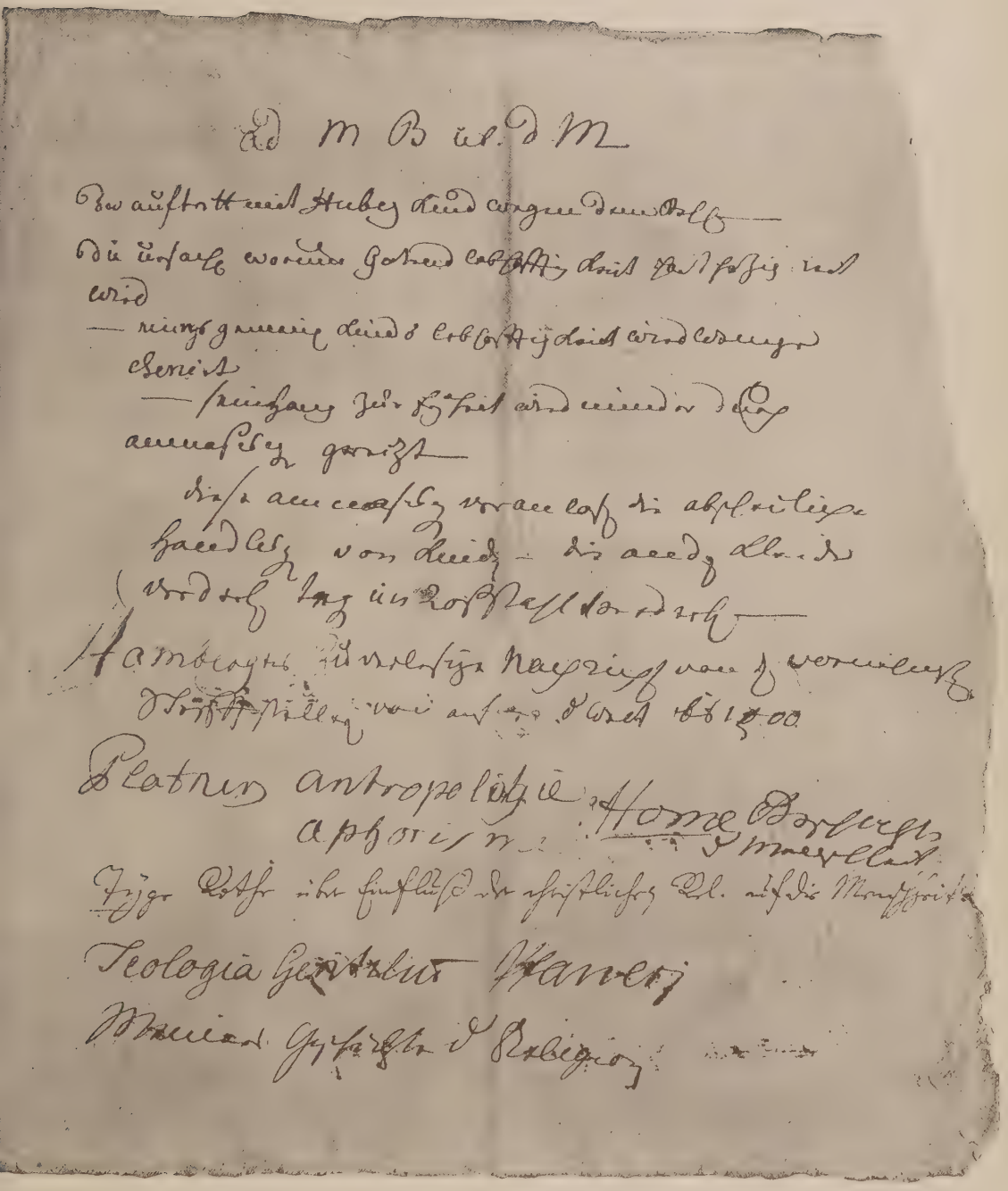
Platner's "Anthropology" and aphorisms

Home, "History of Mankind"

Tyge Rothe, "On the Influence of the Christian Religion on Mankind"

"Teologia Gentilium Pfaneri"

Meiners, "History of Religion"



NOTES BY PESTALOZZI ABOUT 1790

Ideas for a *Buch über den Menschen*, probably the origin of the *Nachforschungen*. Pestalozzi notes books which bear upon this work.

PLATE 142

TEXT

Memorie

(Der Mensch) Das Posit[i]ve Eigenthum ist die ursach aller bürgerlichen verbrechen untersuchung der frag — worum muß Positiv Eigenthum in der welt syn

Der Thon des Buch mitel Ton zwüschen ausgemahlnen Bildren und Trokener Philosophie

worum ist das Positive Eigenthum die ursach der bürgerlichen verbrechen —

was haben die Naturanlagen — und die leidenschafften die der Mensch im Stand der Natur ohne Ein Positiv Eigentum um s[eine]s Natureigenthums willen hat für Einfluß ihn zu verbrechen zu reizen —

Stand der Natur — ohne Tugend und ohne verbrechen — bym Positiven Eigenthum hebt tugend und laster an — der Stand der Natur ist ohne weisheit u. ohne tugend

TRANSLATION

Note.

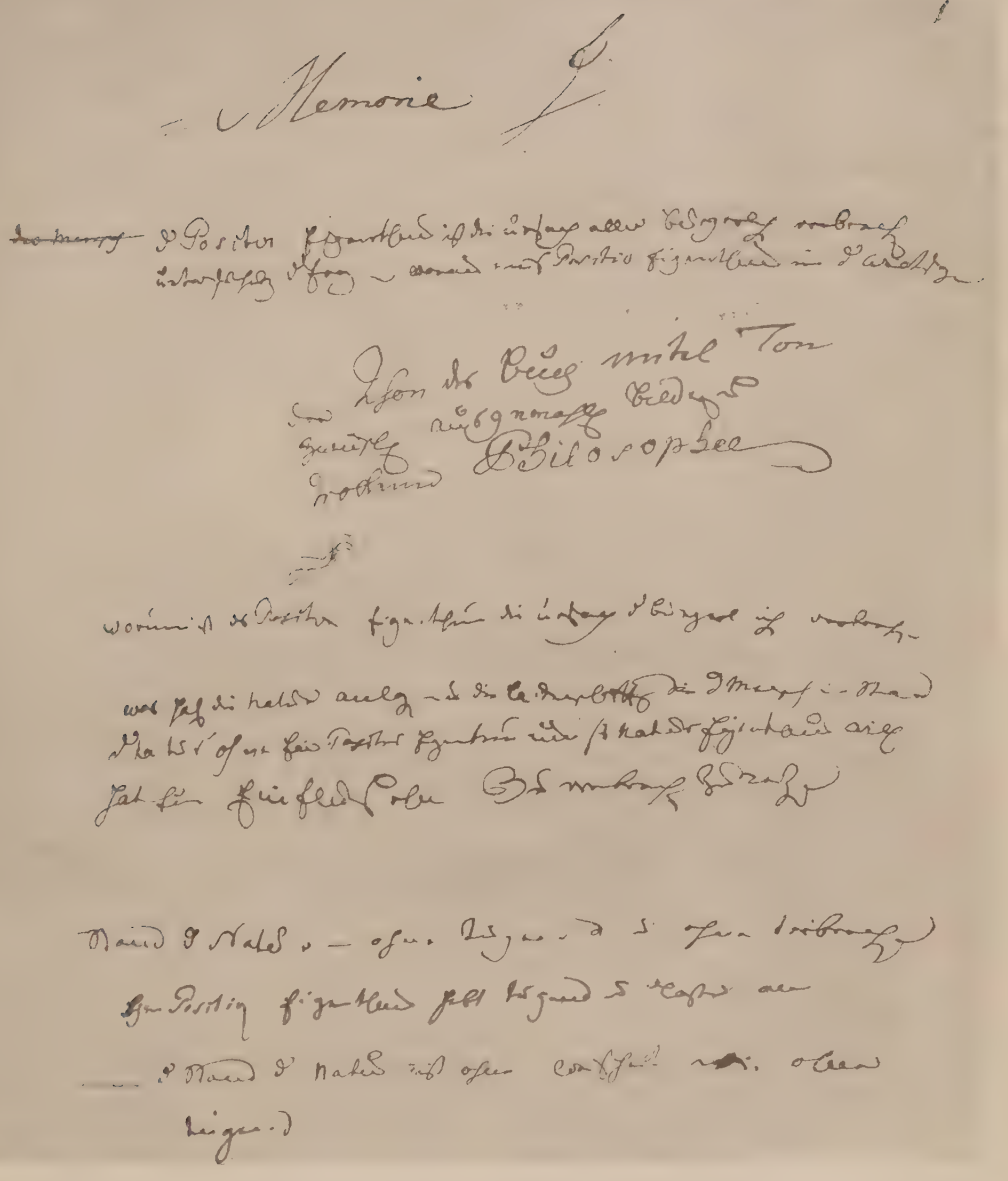
(Man) Material property as the cause of all civic crimes — examination of the question — why must material property exist in the world.

The tone of the book intermediate between allegory and arid philosophy.

why is material property the cause of civic crimes —

what power has natural disposition — and the passions which man in a state of nature, without material property, feels for his natural property, to excite him to crime.

State of nature — without virtue and without crime — virtue and vice originate with material property — the state of nature is without wisdom and without virtue.



NOTES BY PESTALOZZI ABOUT 1790

The tone of this book was to be intermediate between allegory and arid philosophy. Perhaps these notes are also connected with the *Nachforschungen*.

TEXT

Lieber Lavater

Ein Waldstrohm trohte eine Blühende Ebene zu überschwemen da sprach der Felsen der in der Mitte des Lands sein graues Haupt (über d) empor hub — zur unter ihm liegenden Ebene „Du must mir schwören, dich vom Waldstrohm nicht naß machen zu laßen — (aber)

Die Ebene antwortete — ich kan wohl meine ganze Krafft der verheerung des Waldstrohms entgegen setzen — aber ich kan dir nicht schwören mich von ihm nicht naß machen zu laßen.

Pestalozzi

[Lavater's MS.]
Z. 25. II. [17]98.

Der eigentliche Streitpunkt ist mir nicht klar genug — aber klar genug, daß alles gethan werden sollte, den starken Schein von verrätherischer Verbindung mit Frankreich zu vernichten — Die redlichsten Bürger und unzählige Landleuthe sind todtmüde des Schohnens gegen die welche als Feinde der Ruhe und als Freunde Frankreichs angesehen werden müssen und wollen. 25. II. 1798. L.

Ist's dem Landvolk Ernst, allen verdacht von sich abzulehnen, das ist, ist es rein von aller Lust nach fremder Influenz, so findet es leicht unzweydeutige Ausdrüke.

TRANSLATION

Dear Lavater,

A woodland stream threatened to flood a flourishing plain, then said the rock who reared his hoary head in the middle of the land, to the plain who lay beneath him "You must swear to me that you will not let the stream wet you — (but)"

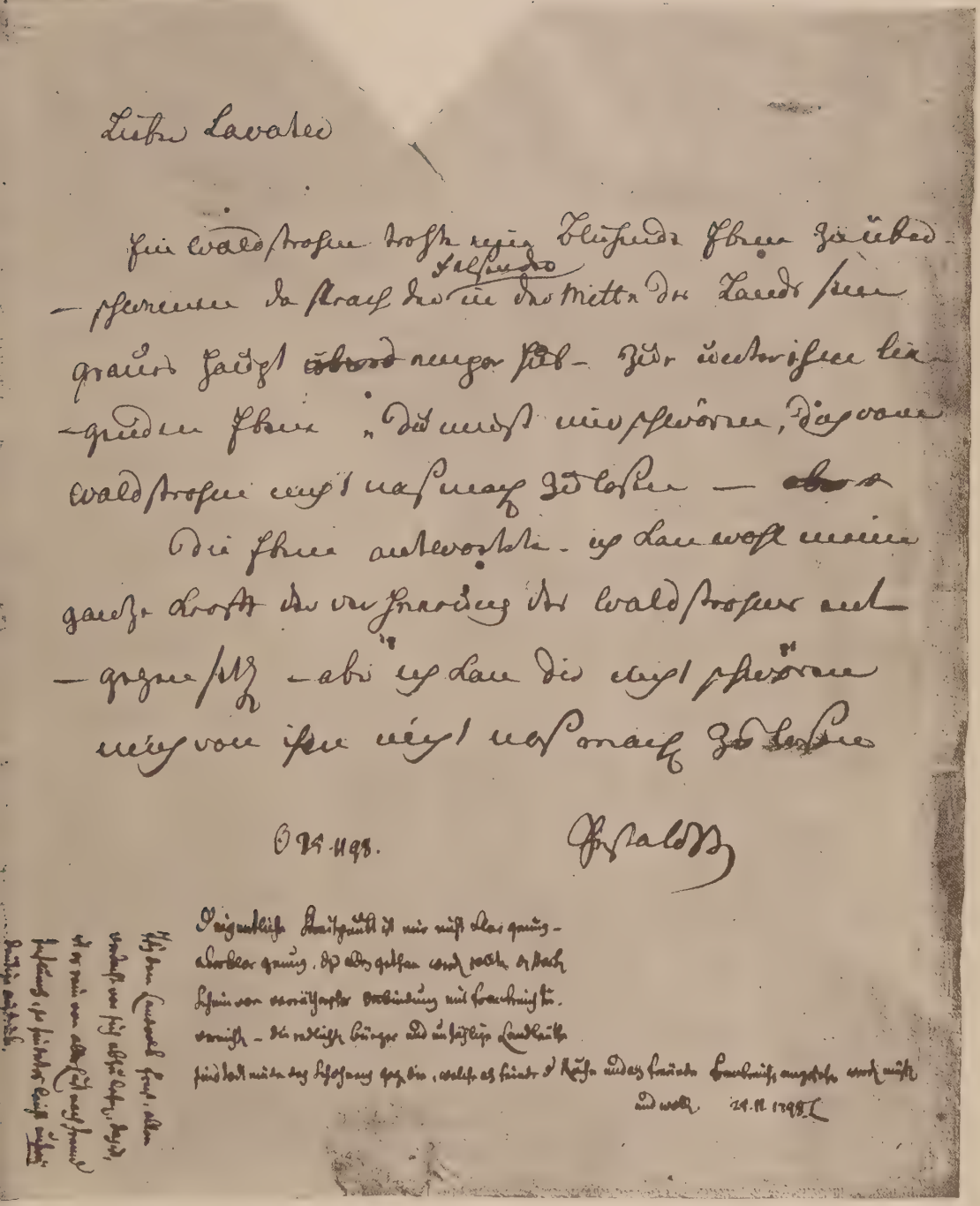
The plain replied "I can set my whole strength against the stream's devastation — but I cannot swear to you that I will not let him wet me."

Pestalozzi

[Lavater's MS.]
Z. 25. II. [17]98.

The real point at issue is not clear to me — but it is clear enough that everything should be done to destroy the strong appearance of treacherous communication with France. The honest citizens and wretched country people are weary to death of the sparing of those who must, shall and desire to be regarded as the enemies of peace and the friends of France. 25. II. 1798. L.

If the country people are serious in denying all suspicion, if they are free of all desire for foreign influence, then they will easily find a way to express this unequivocally.



PESTALOZZI TO JOH. CASPAR LAVATER
1798
(With footnotes by Lavater)

TEXT

mehr 55 den Brachm. 1799 Starb die Mama der jungen Frau Frölich geb. Fisch.

f. 6 In Hallweil wo ich so viel gute Tage geniese habe ich 1799 mein 61. Jahr angetretten Gott gebätten daß er mir meinen Undank verzeihe, weil ich immer so geneigt bin, an die Zeitten der Wiederwärtigkeiten eher zu denken, als an das gute und angeneme so mir gott schenket; So von Ernst und feyerlichen gedanken vor ihm schwebend — wurde ich durch aufschlagen in dem Testament sehr in mir getröstet, es war folgendes II. Ep. pauli an Tim. 2. C. 12. v. Dulden wir so werden wir auch mit Regieren. Verläugnen wir so wird er uns auch Verläugnen; So wir nicht trauen bleibet er doch treu, Er kann sich selber nicht verläugnen, befleiße dich, daß du dich
mehr p. 69 gott bewähret darstellest — gott gebe es.* Segne Meine Lieben alle — u. bringe mich bald hin zu ihm, dem Ewig reichen Erbarmer —

wie 1797 apprill 1800 bekame unser l. Jaque wieder eine sehr schwere Krankheit seine anfääle von gichtern waren so hefftig, daß wir endlich sein Ende von Ermatung nahe glaubten, einiche Zeit vorher wurden ihm seine rechte Seitte arm und bein
56 Contract, und es bleibt wenig zu hofen daß dies wieder beßer werde, dieße Krankheit dauerte bis es zum leben oder Tod entschied 9 tage, seine l. Frau u. lißebeth erwießen ihm tag u. nacht unermüdeten beystand und treu. Mich ließe man von H. weil u. den l. Papa von Burgdorf rufen, ach! wen ich vor ihm sterbe u. er noch dieße Zeilen ließt, so mögen sie doch sein Herz bewegen und ihn zur gedult und dankbarkeit gegen die Seinigen erwecken, dann sein wiederherstellen machte ihn sehr Ungedultig.

den 11. Jenner 1801 starb Bruder Docter Salomon Schultheß an einem Schlagflus im 60 Jahr seines alters -- im Tourgäu dorf Afeltrangen genant bey seinem Schwager pfarrer Werdmüller, er war der erste von uns 6 geschwisterten den gott zu sich berufte seinen tod vernam in Hallweil durch br. pfarer.

georg Schultheß Im Frühling 1800 Starb der elteste Sohn meines l. br. pfarrers in america auf der Insel Cuba, er ware ein Kaufman und sehr von großen Talenten und Tugenden und wurde von allen die ihn gekandt sonderbar von seinen leidenden Eltern sehr bedaurt — mehr F° 69;

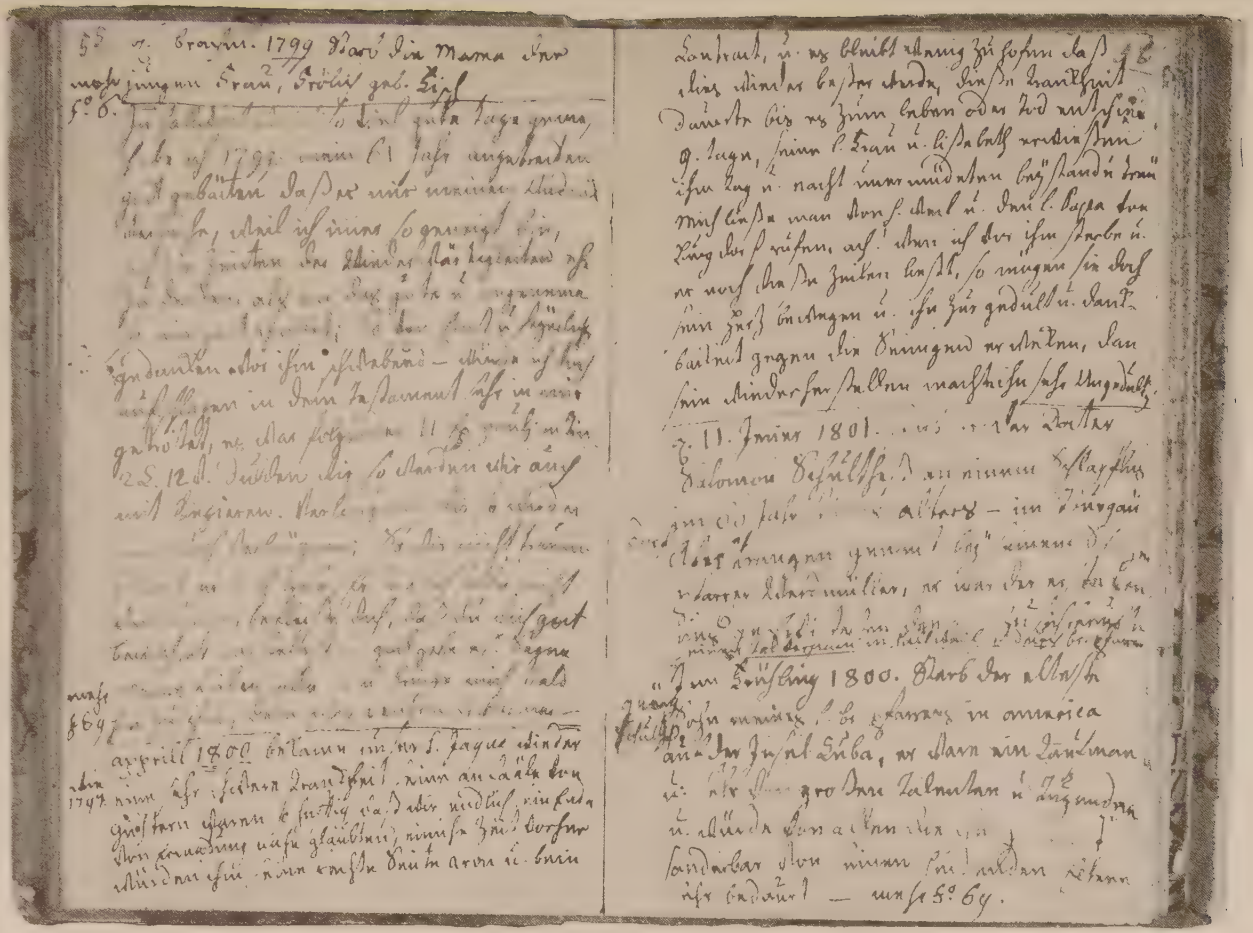
SUMMARY

Anna Pestalozzi reports in her diary, which she carries on in the form of brief notes:

1799 The death of an acquaintance, the mother of Frau Frölich, née Fisch; her own 61st birthday, which she celebrated at Hallwil. She expresses her feelings of humility and resignation to her fate.

1800 Further serious illness of her son Jakob, which gives rise to the gravest anxiety.

1801 Death of the brother, Salomon Schulthess, the first of the family to go.
News of the death of her nephew Georg Schulthess, which took place in 1800 in Cuba, where he carried on business as a merchant.



TWO PAGES FROM THE DIARY OF ANNA PESTALOZZI-SCHULTHESS

A retrospect on the years 1799—1801.

PLATE 145

TEXT

Iferten den 15ten Decembris 1807.

Innig Geliebter Freund:

Ihren Brief vom 4ten habe ich den 11ten erhalten, und dem nähmlichen geantwortet. sie werd[en] ihn jetzt wahrscheinlich erhalten haben. —

Auch den Todt meines Bruders hab ich gestern durch Hh Pestaloz u. Hh Mieg vernohmen. —

Auch im Todt lieber Freund sind sie Vater von ihm; (thut er) machen und begehren Sie alles, was ein Vater in diesen Umständen thun und begehren kann.

Ihre Kinder sind wohl: der ältere kann schon ein wenig Schlittschuh fahren. —

Von ihrem innigen Freund Schmid.

TRANSLATION

My very dear Friend,

I have received your letter of the 11th, and replied to it; you will probably have received it by now.

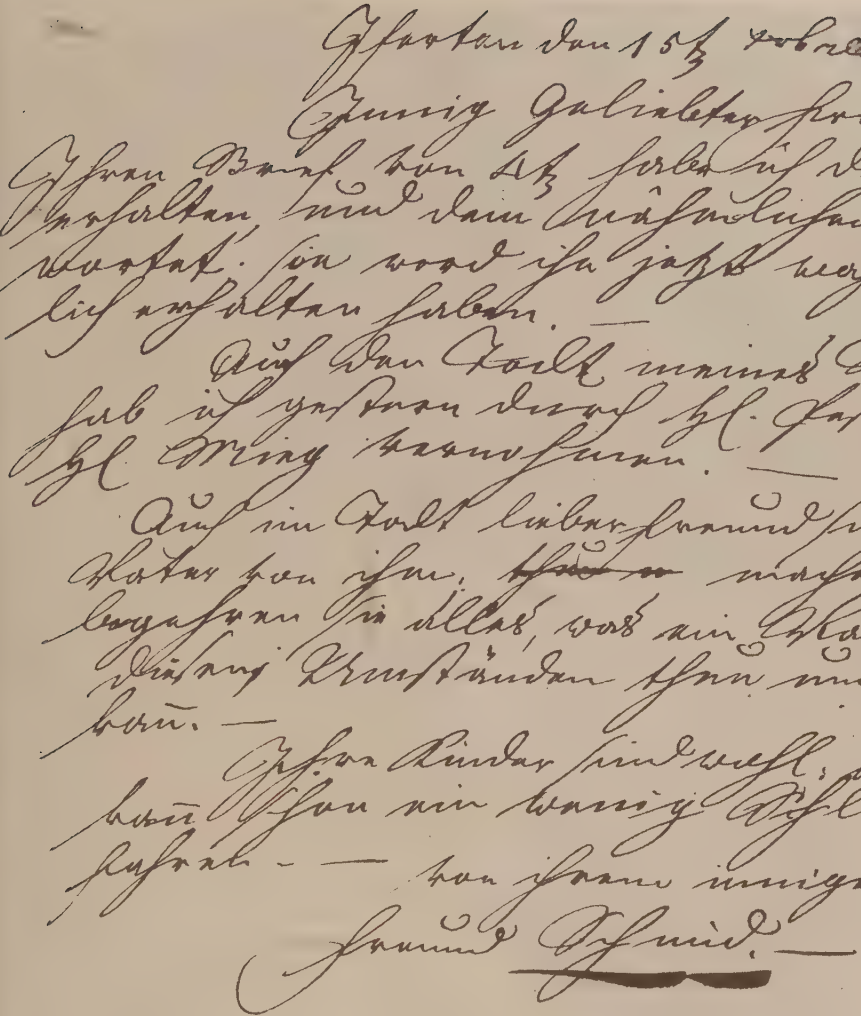
I was also informed yesterday by Herr Pestaloz and Herr Mieg of the death of my brother.

Dear Friend, you are his Father, even in death; do and desire all that a father can desire in these circumstances.

Your children are well; the elder can already skate a little.

From your most affectionate Friend,

Schmid.



JOSEPH SCHMID TO Dr FRANÇOIS ADAM LEJEUNE
IN FRANKFORT
1807

Joseph Schmid, (1787—1850) a native of the Vorarlberg, was first Pestalozzi's pupil, then mathematics teacher in Burgdorf and Yverdon; after the disastrous dispute, he was the most intimate of the collaborators of the ageing Pestalozzi. One of his sisters, Katharina (1797—1853) married Pestalozzi's grandson Gottlieb.

PLATE 146

TEXT

Den 15 ten Feb. 1816.

Lieber Herr Pestalozzi!

Sie haben mich mit dem Zeitungsartikel ganz unrecht verstanden. Ich wollte darmit sagen, daß es rein unmöglich Sey etwas bloß Allgemeines vielleicht schon hundertmal Gesagtes zu sagen, daß ich aber um über denn Gegenstand Licht zu verbreiten, anhaltendes Studium bedürfe, was mir eben meine jetzigen Arbeiten gewähren, die für mich schlechterdings unentbehrliche Vorarbeiten sind, um etwas Ihnen und der Sache nicht Unwürdiges zu Stande zu bringen. Drückte ich mich, was wohl seyn kan mißverstehbar aus, so bitte ich Sie herzlich um Verzeihung

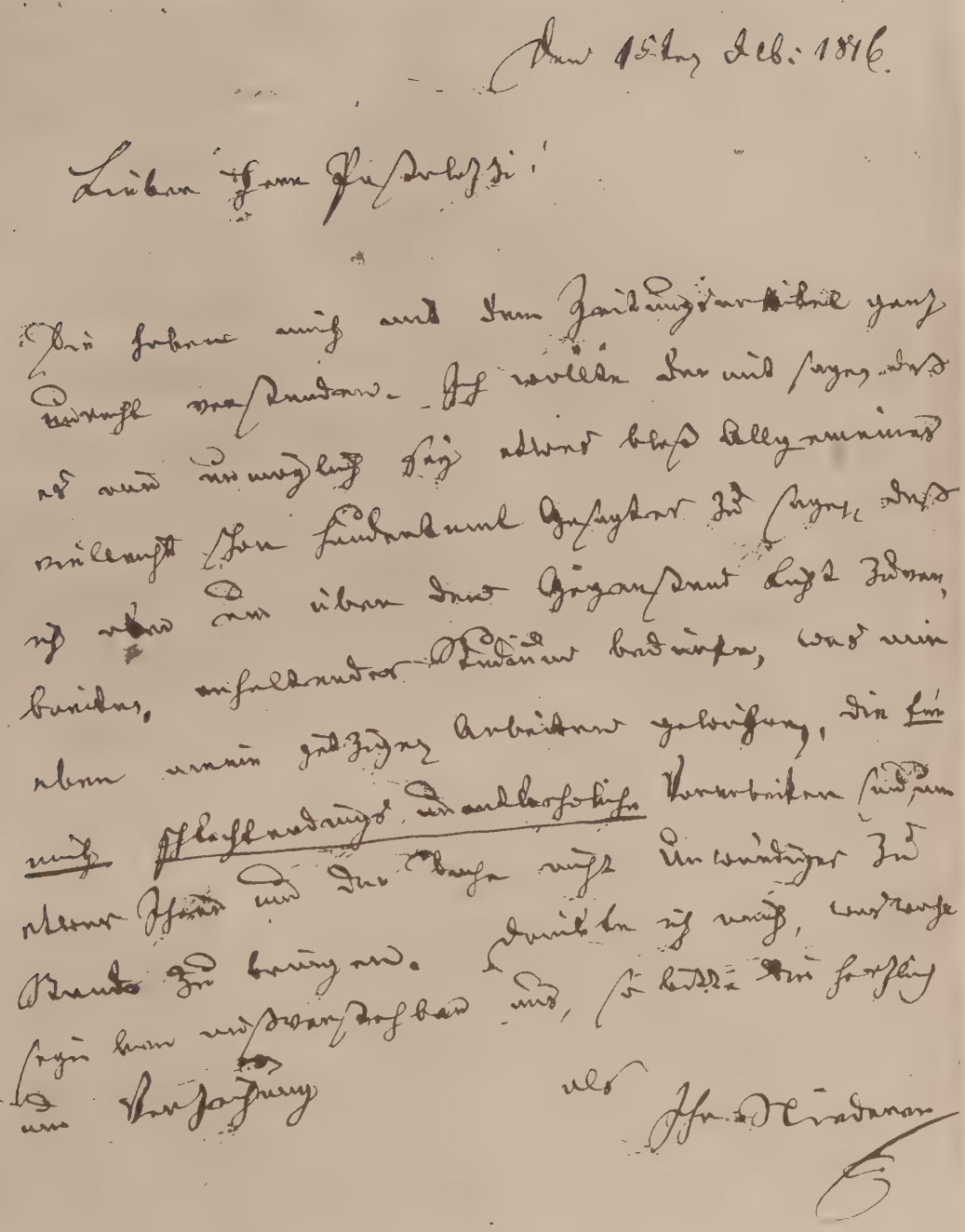
als Ihr Niederer.

TRANSLATION

Dear Herr Pestalozzi,

You have quite misunderstood me in my article. I desired to explain that it was quite impossible to say something of merely general import, which had perhaps been said a hundred times already; that, if I desired to say anything generally illuminating on the matter, I should require long study; this is furnished me by my present work, which is for me an indispensable preliminary if I am to say anything worthy of you and the subject. If, as may well be, I expressed myself unintelligibly, I most heartily beg your pardon.

Yours Niederer.



JOHANNES NIEDERER TO PESTALOZZI
1816

PLATE 147

TEXT

Lieber Herr Pestalozzi!

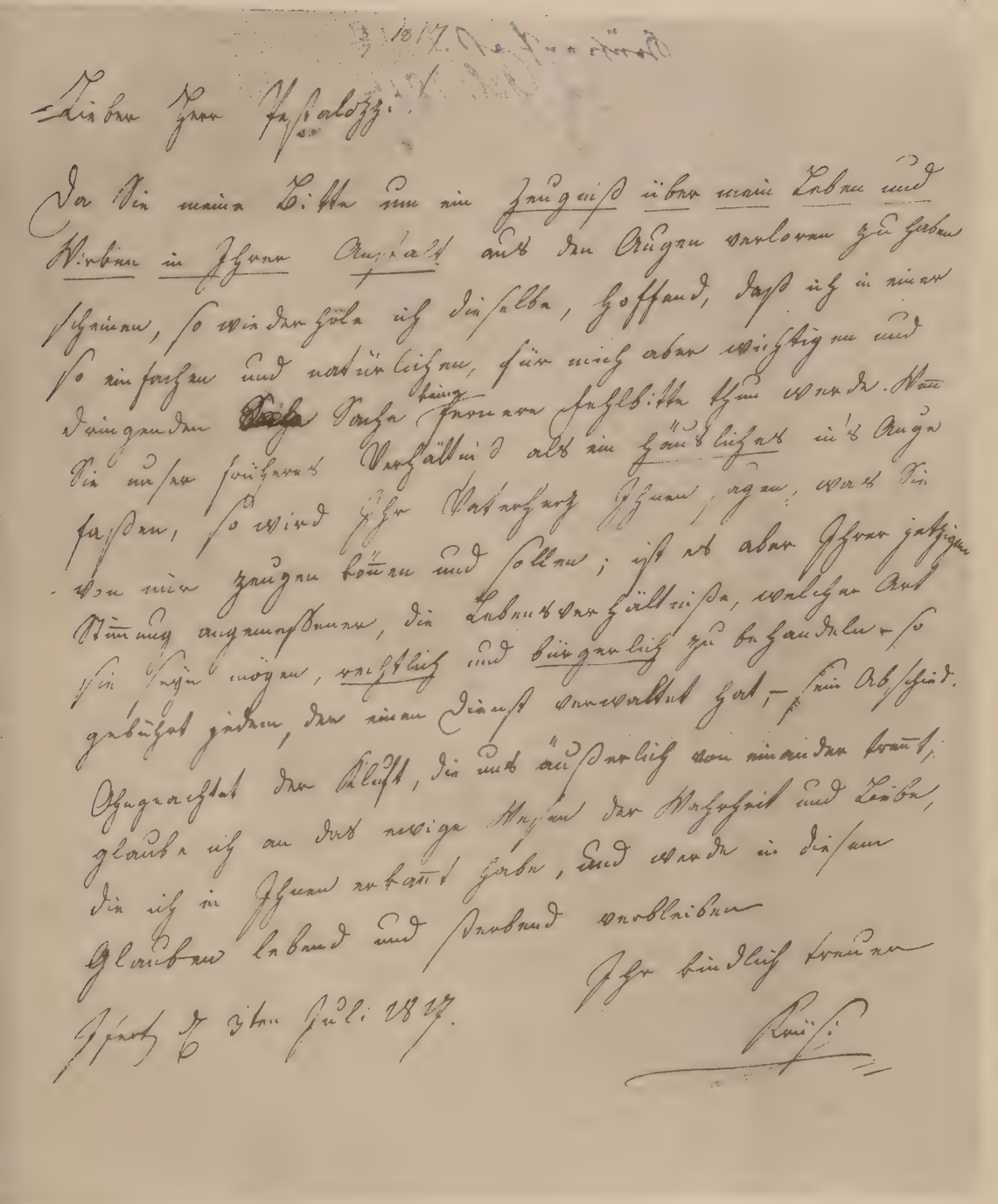
Da Sie meine Bitte um ein Zeugniß über mein Leben und Wirken in Ihrer Anstalt aus den Augen verloren zu haben scheinen, so wiederhole ich dieselbe, hoffend, daß ich in einer so einfachen und natürlichen, für mich aber wichtigen und dringenden Sache keine fernere Fehlbitte thun werde. Wenn Sie unser früheres Verhältniß als ein häusliches ins Auge faßen, so wird Ihr Vaterherz Ihnen sagen, was Sie von mir zeugen können und sollen; ist es aber Ihrer jetzigen Stimmung angemeßener, die Lebensverhältniße, welcher Art sie seyn mögen, rechtlich und bürgerlich zu behandeln — so gebührt jedem, der einen Dienst verwaltet hat, — ein Abschied. Ohngeachtet der Kluft, die uns äußerlich von einander trennt, glaube ich an das ewige Wesen der Wahrheit und Liebe, die ich in Ihnen erkannt habe, und werde in diesem Glauben lebend und sterbend verbleiben

Ihr kindlich treuer

Iferten den 3 ten Juli 1817. Krüsi

SUMMARY

Pestalozzi's former collaborator, Krüsi, asks him for a statement of his life and work at the Institute, be it as a sign of fatherly affection after the years they have spent together, or merely as a reference which can no more be refused to him than to any honest worker.



HERMANN KRÜSI TO PESTALOZZI
1817

PLATE 148

TEXT

Berlin, d. 22. Jul. [18]17.

Lieber ehrwürdiger Vater! ich kann das amtliche Schreiben nicht aus meiner Hand laßen, ohne dir zu sagen, daß ich deiner gedenke u. deiner Liebe nicht unwerth lebe. Mit der Subscription geht es gewiß gut, u. Preußen wird, wie ich fest hoffe, sich dabey Ehre machen. — Deine Leiden beugen mich. Gott hat dir Muth u. Kraft gegeben, aber die Last, die dir auferlegt ist, scheint doch schier zu schwer. Sehe ich auf dein Leben zurück seit jenen ersten Jahren in Neuhof so sehe ich freylich herkulische Kraft, aber vergebens suche ich die Sieges- u. Friedenspalme in deiner Hand. Bey dieser gewaltigen Liebe im Herzen, u. dieser, laß es mich sagen, wohl übermenschlichen Reinheit von Selbstsucht u. Eigennutz, mußt du dennoch verwickelt bleiben in Streit u. Zank u. wildem Getreibe, u. kannst deines innern Heiligthums nicht froh seyn. Wie wird, wenn du einst in das Reich des ewigen Friedens u. den Glanz himmlischer Liebe versezt wirst, denen zu Muth seyn, die hier deinen Frieden störten u. deine Liebe verwirrten! Möge endlich sich in deinem Kreise alles in Harmonie auflösen, u. Alle erkennen, daß dein Geist nicht bey ihnen ist, wenn sie nicht lieben wie du, u. nicht sich selbst preisgeben wie du. Das Leben, das so viel Herrliches u. Gutes über alles Verdienst u. Wünschen mir (verl)iehen, läßt doch mit mancher Sehnsucht in mir, auch die unbefri(edigt, d)ich wieder zu sehen, u. mich neu an deiner Flamme zu entzünden. Aber dennoch bin ich ganz dein mit Dankbarkeit und Liebe

Nicolovius.

SUMMARY

Nicolovius adds to an official communication a private lettre full of sympathy for Pestalozzi's difficult situation (dispute with the collaborators) and of deep regret that Pestalozzi cannot yet bear in his hand the palm of victory and peace and that in spite of superhuman purity and selflessness, he re mains involved in the dispute which cannot end until his opponents are inspired by the like selflessness.

Berlin. d. 22. Jul. 17.

Lieber ehrwürdiger Vater! ich kann das amtliche Schreiben nicht aus meiner Hand lassen, ohne dir zu sagen, daß ich deiner gedenke w. deiner Liebe nicht unwerth ~~[illegible]~~ lebe. Mit der Subscription geht es gewiß gut, w. Preußen wird, wie ich fest hoffe, sich dabey Ehre machen. – Deine Leiden beugen mich. Gott hat dir Muth w. Kraft gegeben, aber die Last, die dir auferlegt ist, scheint doch schier zu schwer. Sehe ich auf dein Leben zurück seit jenen ersten Jahren in Neuhof so sehe ich freylich herkulische Kraft, aber vergebens suche ich die Sieges- w. Friedenspalme in deiner Hand. Bey dieser gewaltigen Liebe im Herzen, w. dieser, laß es mich sagen, wohl übermenschlichen Reinheit von Selbstsucht w. Eigennutz, müßt du dennoch verwickelt bleiben in Streit w. Zank w. wildem Getreibe, w. kannst deines innern Heiligthums nicht froh seyn. Wie wird, wenn du einst in das Reich des ewigen Friedens w. den Glanz himmlischer Liebe versetzt wirst, denen zu Muth seyn, die hier deinen Frieden stören w. deine Liebe verwirrten! Möge endlich sich in deinem Kreise alles in Harmonie auflösen, w. Alle erkennen, daß dein Geist nicht bey ihnen ist, wenn sie nicht lieben wie du, w. nicht sich selbst preisgeben wie du. Das Leben, das so viel Herrliches u. Gutes über alles Verdienst w. Wünschen mir [illegible]ihen, läßt doch mit mancher Sehnsucht in mir, auch die unbefre[illegible] wieder zu sehen, w. mich neu an deiner Flamme zu entzünden. Aber [illegible] bin ich ganz dein mit Dankbarkeit u. Liebe

Nicolovius

GEORG HEINRICH LUDWIG NICOLOVIUS TO PESTALOZZI
1817

PLATE 149

TEXT

An seine Hochwürden Herren Herren
Pfahrherren auf Gäiß

Berichtet Lisabeth Kreusi gebhr Näf

das ich

1762 den 6. Aprill gebohren zu Cappel im Cantan Zürich
den 8. dito getauft worden in der kirchen zu Cappel —

1802 den 31. Merz habe ich mich verehlichet mit Matheias Kreusi auf Gäiß

1803 den 3. Merz wurde mein knab Jacob Heinrich Kreusi gebohren im Neuhof Bey Wildeg
den 12 Merz wurde er getauft in der kirchen zu Bihr im Cantan Arau —

1812 den 24 ten Winterm. starb mein Geliebter Mann

1825 den 3 ten Herbstm. kam ich mit meinem knaben hier auf Geiß ins Weißenhaus —

TRANSLATION

To His Reverence the
Pastor of Gais

Lisabeth Krüsi, née Näf,
reports

that I was

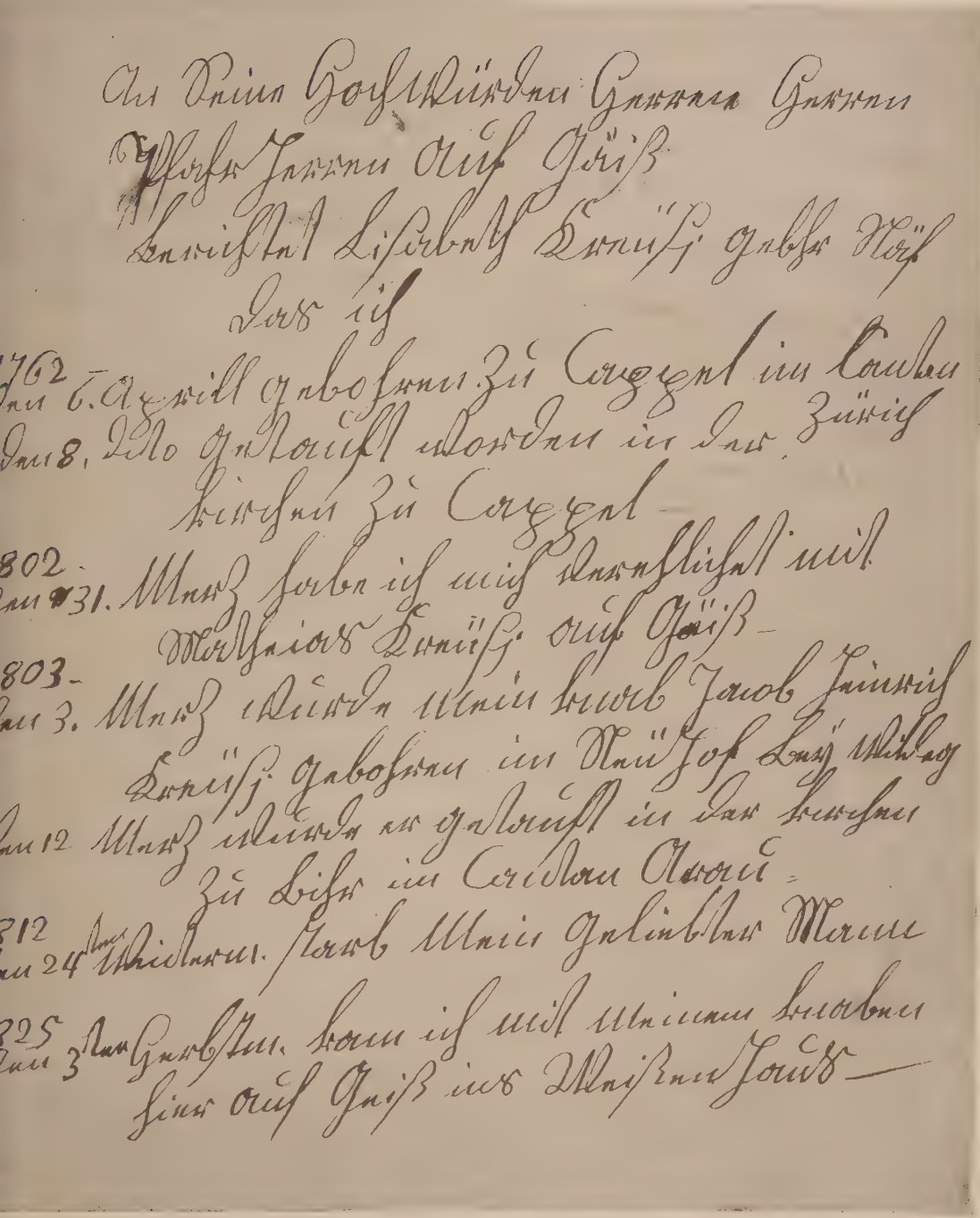
1762 6 th April born at Cappel in Canton Zurich
8 th do. baptised in the church at Cappel —

1802 31st March married to Mathias Krüsi of Gais

1803 3rd March my boy Jacob Heinrich Krüsi was born at the Neuhof near Wildegg
12th March he was baptised in the church at Birr in Canton Aargau

1812 24th November my dear Husband died

1825 3rd September I came here to the orphanage at Gais with my boy —



NOTES BY LISABETH KRÜSI NÉE NÄF ABOUT 1825

Lisabeth Näf (1762—1854) came to the Neuhof as maid when she was twenty years old, married, in 1802, Mathias Krüsi, the brother of Pestalozzis oldest collaborator, and till an advanced age worked loyally as housekeeper at Burgdorf, Yverdon and the Neuhof. She is the original of the mother in *Lienhard und Gertrud*.

FACSIMILES OF PRINTED WORKS

FACSIMILES OF PRINTED WORKS

Plate 150 Agis, 1765

» 151 Der Erinnerer, 1766

» 152 Die Abendstunde eines Einsiedlers, 1780
(A Hermit's Evening Hour)

» 153 and 154 Lienhard und Gertrud, 1781

» 155 Léonard et Gertrude, 1783

» 156 Engraving by D. Chodowiecki to Léonard et Gertrude, 1783

» 157 Lienhard und Gertrud, completely revised, 1790

» 158 Engraving after M. Usteri to Lienhard und Gertrud, 1790

» 159 Christoph und Else, 1782

» 160 Ein Schweizerblatt, 1782

» 161 Über Gesetzgebung und Kindermord, 1783
(On Legislation and Infanticide)

» 162 Meine Nachforschungen über den Gang der Natur, 1797
(My Enquiries into the Course of Nature)

» 163 Über den Zehnden, 1798
(On the Tithes)

» 164 Wie Gertrud ihre Kinder lehrt, 1801
(How Gertrud Teaches her Children)

» 165 Schwanengesang, 1826

* (o) *

V.

Agis.

1765.

Nachstehendes Stück ist die Arbeit eines verdienstvollen Jünglings von noch nicht zwanzig Jahren / die aber nichts weniger als zum Druck bestimt / sondern nur in einer kleinen Versamlung edeldenkender Jünglinge vorgelesen ward Wie sehr sie aber die Bekantmachung verdiene / wird jeder unserer Leser / ohne unsre Empfehlung / leicht sehen.

AGIS 1765

Pestalozzi's first published work, appeared in the *Lindauer Journal*. Concerns the fate of the Spartan King Agis, who endeavoured to reintroduce the more austere manners of an earlier age. († 241 B. C.)

Der Erinnerer.

Zweytes Stück.

Den 10. Jenner 1766.

Ein junger Mensch, der in seinem Vaterland eine so kleine Figur macht, wie ich, darf nicht tadeln, nicht verbessern wollen; denn das ist ausser seiner Sphäre. Das sagt man mir fast alle Tage; aber wünschen darf ich doch? — Ja, wer wollte mir das verbieten, das übel nehmen können? Ich will also wünschen, und meine Wünsche den Leuten gedruckt zu lesen geben; und wer mich mit meinen Wünschen auslacht, dem wünsche ich — gute Besserung!

* * *

Vor etwas Zeit sahe ich Geßners Landschaften. — Gestern las ich seinen Traft Daß doch Geßner, wünschte ich, anstatt Landschaften zu radiren, mehr Traften schriebe! denn durch was für eine Art Schrif-

DER ERINNERER
January 10th, 1766

A weekly periodical, started in 1765 by Bodmer's group. The number of January 10th 1766 opens with Pestalozzi's *Wünschen*, followed later by *Sechs Wünschen*. In 1767, the periodical was suppressed by the authorities as revolutionary.

Ephemeriden
der Menſchheit,
oder
Bibliothek der Sittenlehre, der
Politik und der Geſezgebung.

Fünftes Stück. Mai 1780.

Erſter Theil.

Abhandlungen.

I.

Die Abendſtunde eines Einſiedlers.

Vaterſinn Gottes; Kinderſinn der Menſchen. Vaterſinn des Fürſten, Kinderſinn der Bürger. Quellen aller Glückſeligkeit.

Der Menſch, ſo wie er auf dem Throne und im Schatten des Laubdaches ſich gleich iſt; der Menſch in ſeinem Weſen, was iſt er? Warum ſagens die Weiſen uns nicht? warum nehmen die erhabenen Geiſter nicht wahr, was ihr Geſchlecht ſey? Braucht auch ein Bauer ſeinen Ochſen, und lernt ihn nicht kennen! forſchet ein Hirt nicht nach der Natur ſeiner Schafe!

Und ihr, die ihr den Menſchen brauchet, und ſaget, daß ihr ihn hütet und weidet; nehmet auch

DIE ABENDSTUNDE EINES EINSIEDLERS

(A Hermit's Evening Hour)

First printed in the *Ephemeriden* May 1780

After the collapse of his agricultural and pedagogic experiments at the Neuhof, Pestalozzi fell back on writing. The *Abendstunde eines Einsiedlers*, accepted by Iselin in 1780 for his *Ephemeriden*, forms, in the words of its author, "the starting point of all his future writings."

Explanatory text to plates 153 and 154

LIENHARD UND GERTRUD
1781

Pestalozzi's masterpiece, the publication of which was actively promoted by Iselin, Part 1 published by G. J. Decker, Berlin, 1781. The title page bears an engraving by D. Chodowiecki. In a reprint of the same year the engraving was removed at the request of Pestalozzi since it did not represent the scene it was intended to illustrate. It was replaced by an allegorical woodcut.

Lienhard und Gertrud.

Ein Buch für das Volk.

Berlin und Leipzig,
bey George Jakob Decker, 1781.

Lienhard und Gertrud.

Ein Buch für das Volk.

Berlin und Leipzig,
bey George Jakob Decker, 1781.

LÉONARD
ET
GERTRUDE
OU
LES MŒURS
VILLAGEOISES,
telles qu'on les retrouve à la Ville
& à la Cour.

HISTOIRE MORALE

TRADUITE DE L'ALLEMAND.

AVEC DOUZE ESTAMPES,
dessinées & gravées par D. Chodowiecki.

A BERLIN,
Chez GEORGE JACQUES DECKER.

M. DCC. LXXXIII.

LÉONARD ET GERTRUDE
1783

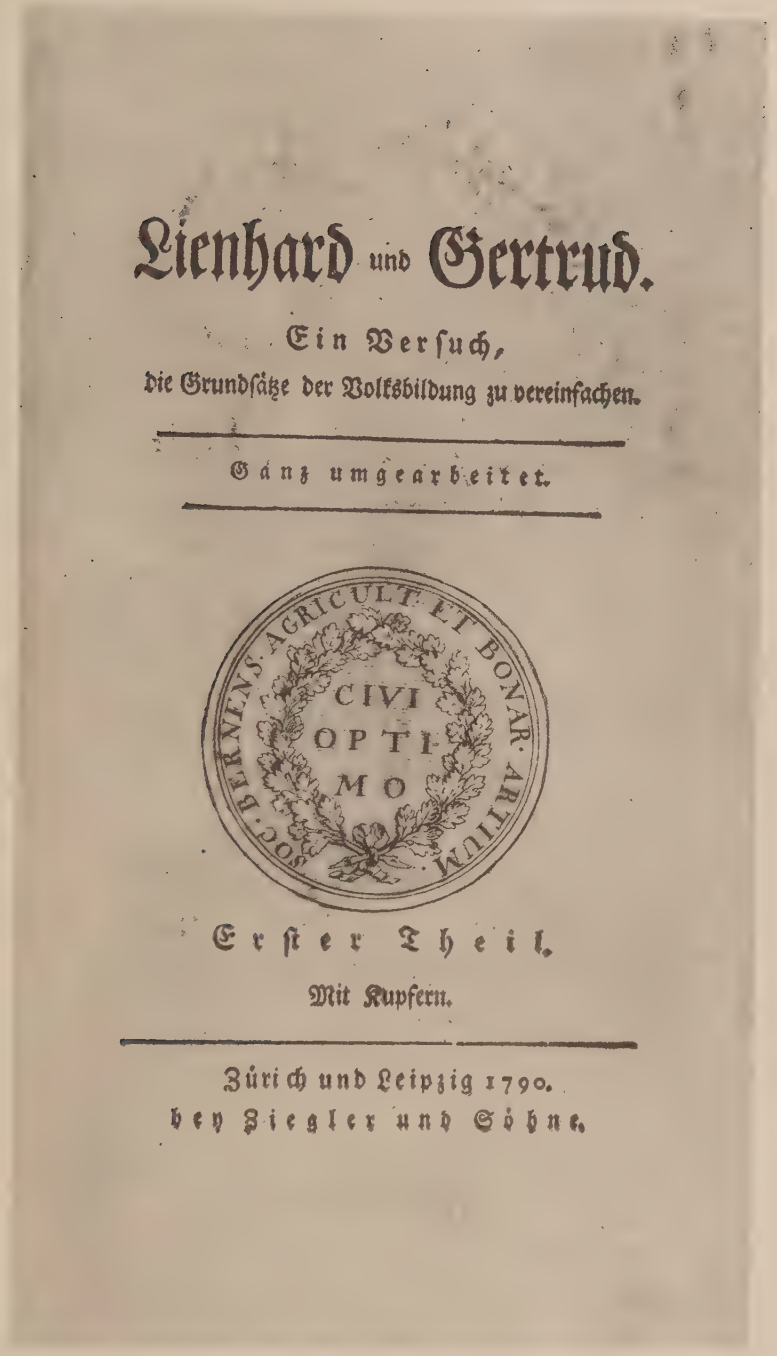
A French translation by Pagon de Moncet, a French clergyman in Berlin, with twelve copper engravings by D. Chodowiecki.

LÉONARD ET GERTRUDE

1783

Copper engraving by D. Chodowiecki from the French edition of 1783

Gertrud describes to *Landvogt* Arner the misery of her family, and begs for help against *Vogt Hummel.*



Lienhard und Gertrud.

Ein Versuch,
die Grundsätze der Volksbildung zu vereinfachen.

Ganz umgearbeitet.

SOC. BERNENS. AGRICULT. ET BONAR. ARTIUM
CIVI
OPTI-
MO

Erster Theil.

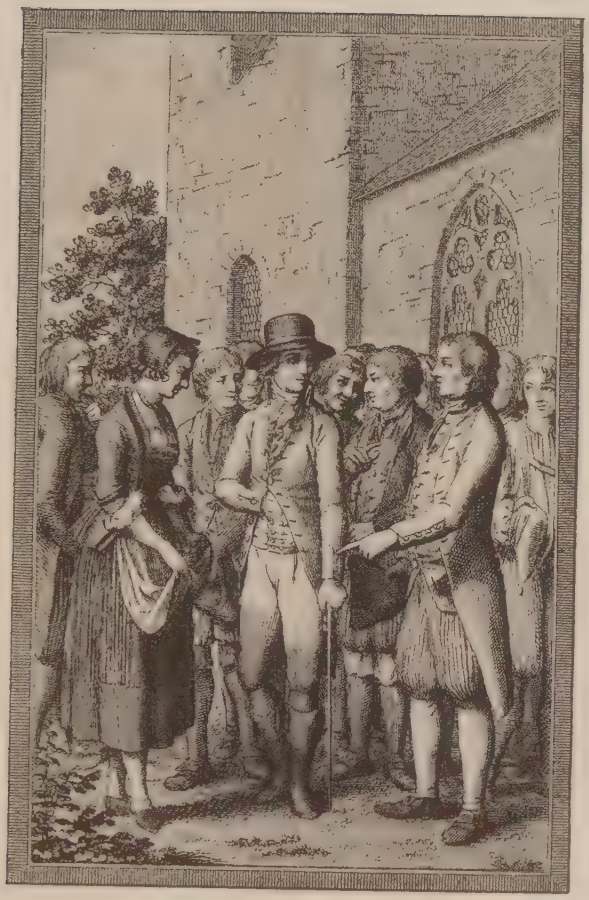
Mit Kupfern.

Zürich und Leipzig 1790.
bey Ziegler und Söhne.

LIENHARD UND GERTRUD
1790

Second revised edition of 1790—1792

The vignette is a reproduction of the gold memorial medal which Pestalozzi received from the *Ökonomische Gesellschaft* Berne.



LIENHARD UND GERTRUD

1790

Copper engraving by A. W. Hüttner after J. M. Usteri from the second edition of 1790—1792

Gertrud, Arner and Hummel at the cemetery by the church in Bonnal.

Christoph und Else.

Mein zweytes

Volks Buch

1782.

Zürich und Deßau

In Commißion bey Joh. Caſpar Füeßly.

CHRISTOPH UND ELSE
1782

A popular commentary to *Lienhard und Gertrud*, which, however, attracted little attention.

EIN SCHWEIZERBLATT
1782

A weekly periodical with articles on political, moral, and educational questions, started by Pestalozzi in 1782, he himself being almost the sole contributor; it ceased appearing at the end of the year, the sales being too restricted.

Ueber

Gesezgebung

und

Kindermord

Wahrheiten und Träume,

Nachforschungen und Bilder.

Vom Verfasser Lienhardts und Gertrud.

Geschrieben 1780. Herausgegeben 1783.

Frankfurt und Leipzig.

Auf Kosten des Verfassers, und in Kommißion
bey der Buchhandlung der Gelehrten.

ÜBER GESETZGEBUNG UND KINDERMORD
(On Legislation and Infanticide)
1783

Basing his argument on criminal cases, Pestalozzi attributes the frequency of infanticide to the economic distress of unmarried mothers and calls for better legislation to remedy the evil. The article, which was to be entered for a prize competition in the *Ephemeriden*, was not sent in, and was only printed later.

Meine

Nachforſchungen

über den Gang der Natur

in der

Entwiklung des Menſchengeſchlechts

von dem Verfaſſer

Lienhard und Gertrud.

Zürich, bei Heinrich Geßner.
1797.

MEINE NACHFORSCHUNGEN ÜBER DEN GANG DER NATUR
(My Enquiries into the Course of Nature)
1797

Résumé of Pestalozzi's ideas on sociology. The shortcomings both of the state of nature and of the social order are to be overcome by the morality of the individual. This is one of the profoundest of Pestalozzi's writings. Its origins go back to the eighties.

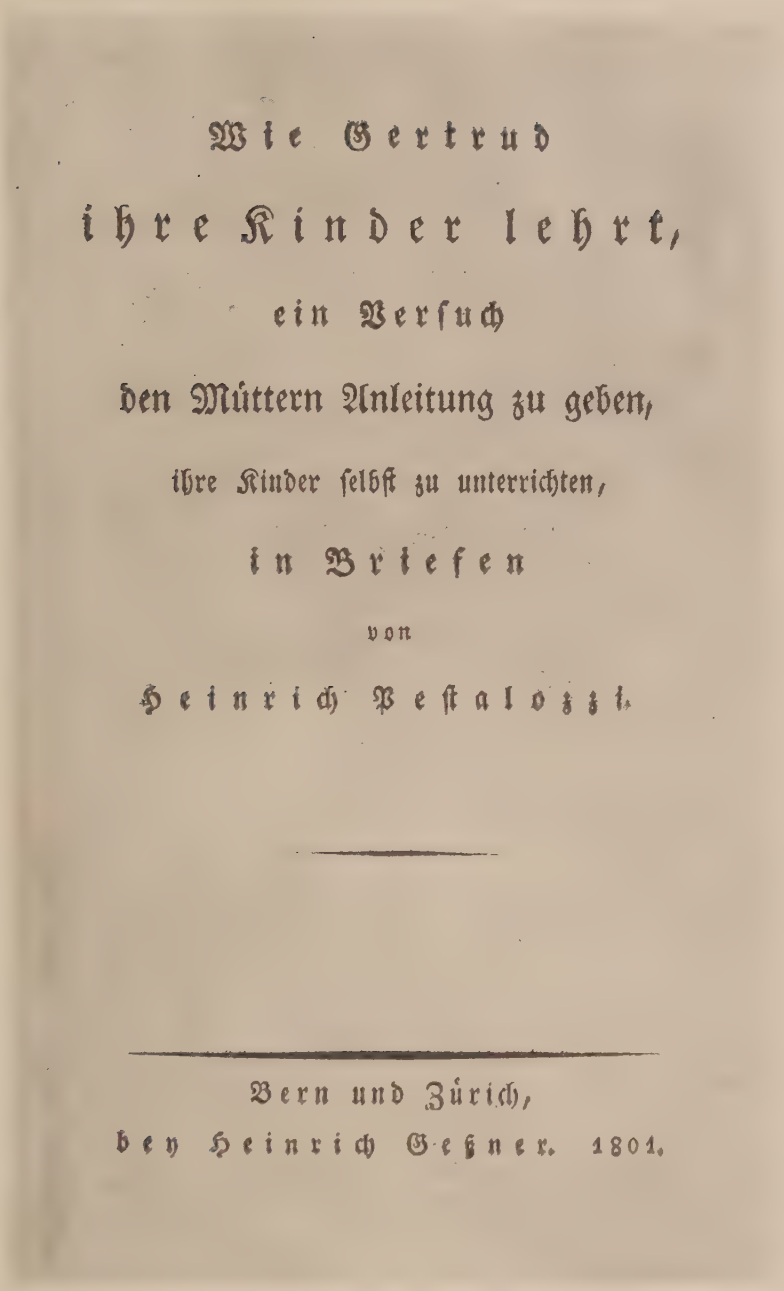
Ueber den Zehnden.

Von Pestalozzi.

Arau, bey Friedrich Jakob Bek, 1798.

ÜBER DEN ZEHNDEN
(On the Tithes)
1798

One of Pestalozzi's numerous revolutionary writings; in it he calls attention to the injustice of the tithe system, thus calling forth a storm of indignation. His second pamphlet on the tithes, written in 1799, remained unpublished.



Wie Gertrud
ihre Kinder lehrt,
ein Verſuch
den Müttern Anleitung zu geben,
ihre Kinder ſelbſt zu unterrichten,
in Briefen
von
Heinrich Peſtalozzi.

Bern und Zürich,
bey Heinrich Geßner. 1801.

WIE GERTRUD IHRE KINDER LEHRT
(How Gertrud Teaches her Children)
1801

In spite of the sub-title, not a book for mothers, but a complete exposition of Pestalozzi's pedagogic principles based on his experience in Stans and Burgdorf.

Peſtalozzi's

Schwanengeſang.

Stuttgart und Tübingen,
in der J. G. Cotta'ſchen Buchhandlung.
1826.

SCHWANENGESANG
1826
Written by Pestalozzi in the last year of his life. A review of his life and doctrine.

HISTORICAL NOTES

P. 1, line 1. *Landvogt* and below, *Landschaft*: Certain Cantons of Switzerland in former times were divided into *Stadt* and *Landschaft* i. e. town and country. The *Landschaft* was divided into a number of districts, each governed by a *Landvogt* or governor appointed by the town, who held office for a number of years. The inhabitants of the *Landschaft* were practically subject to the town. They had to pay heavy taxes to the *Landvogt*, could hold no office in the town government, and only rarely rose to any rank in the army. (See p. 4, line 11.) In the time of Pestalozzi, there were in the Canton of Zurich twenty-seven of these districts, the governors being appointed from among the members of the *Grosser Rat*.

P. 1, line 10. *The Locarno Refugees*: At the time of the Counter-Reformation in Italy, Italian Protestants emigrated, and settled in considerable numbers in the Veltlin and the Italian districts of Switzerland, i. e. Lugano, Locarno, Mendrisio and the Maggia Valley. Over these districts, the members of the Confederation held a joint suzerainty. The question of Protestantism having given rise to a dispute of some violence in the Confederation, a tribunal was appointed, which decided that the Protestants of Locarno must recant or leave the town. After an unsuccessful attempt to find a refuge in the Bündnerland, they applied to Zurich, and were received there, to the number of 116, in 1555.

P. 1, line 20. *Grosser Rat, Kleiner Rat:* The *Grosser Rat* or Great Council of Zurich consisted of 212 members, these being delegates from the *Konstaffel* or representative body of the noble families, the Guild masters, and further delegates from the guilds. In it the true sovereignty of the state was lodged. The *Kleiner Rat*, or Little Council, the principal element of government, consisted of fifty members, also guild masters and delegates, and representatives of the *Konstaffel*.

P. 1, line 25. *Zunft zur Saffran:* The Saffran Guild, or guild of traders with foreign countries. There were twelve guilds in Zurich which, owing to the preponderance of their representation on the *Grosser* and *Kleiner Rat*, had enormous power, and continued till a much later date the kind of tyranny they had exercised in England in the Middle Ages.

P. 1, line 26. *Statthalter:* Representative of the active of the two Burgomasters of Zurich Exercised his functions during his absence.

P. 1, line 26. *Säckelmeister:* The controller of the finances of the state.

P. 1, line 33. *Carolinum:* At the time of the Reformation, Zwingli had transformed the canonicate of the *Grossmünster* of Zurich into a teaching foundation which became a theological and classical school famous throughout Switzerland. The official name Carolinum was first given to it by J. H. Hottinger in the 17th century.

P. 3, line 19. *Stadtkanzlei:* The secretariat of the town.

P. 9, line 31. *Chorgerichtschreiber:* Recorder of the ecclesiastical authority of a Bernese country community.

P. 11, line 28. *The Consulta:* See note, p. 39, line 9.

P. 11, line 33. *The Confectioner:* It should be remembered that, in contrast with Berne, the chief power in Zurich was in the hands of the guilds, not of the aristocrats. Consequently, men who carried on a trade frequently held positions of high authority. Meyer von Knonau relates, "The baker from whom my parents bought their bread was a talented man with a good head for business, and at the time when I became a citizen of the town, a guild master. He was treated with the profoundest respect. This was the case with many others, and a considerable numbers of artisans were entitled to that respect as members of the *Grosser Rat*".

P. 13, line 16. *Philanthropin:* The schools founded by the German educational reformers, in the eighteenth century, Basedow and Salzmann, bore this name. The first was opened in Dessau in 1774.

P. 13, line 24. *Johann Heinrich Waser:* Began his tragic career by an enquiry into the finances of his parish in which he showed much zeal, but so little wisdom, that he succeeded in alienating the sympathy of the government. After a series of attacks on the government, he was unfrocked, continued his activities until he was imprisoned, and finally executed for high treason.

P. 13, line 29. *The Grebelhandel:* Felix Grebel was *Landvogt* of Grüningen from 1756 till 1762, and had enriched himself by the oppression of the people of his district. At the conclusion of his term of office, he shamelessly returned to Zurich with his ill-gotten wealth. Indignant at this, J. C. Lavater first wrote a personal letter to Grebel, warning him to return his booty. No notice being taken of the letter, Lavater, Füssli (Henry Fusely the famous painter) and some others published a pamphlet exposing his extortions. The *Rat*, in high indignation, then instituted an enquiry into the authorship of the pamphlet. Lavater and Füssli fearlessly acknowledged themselves, and were obliged to leave Zurich for a time. Grebel, however having had the audacity to complain in person, was himself called upon to explain the matter, but took to flight, and forfeited a large part of his fortune.

P. 18, line 32. *The Helvetische Gesellschaft:* The origin of this society was the tercentenary celebration of the University of Basle. On this occasion, some citizens of Zurich — Salomon Hirzel, Gessner, Schinz — had stayed with Iselin, and found themselves inspired with a like enthusiasm for the improvement of conditions in Switzerland. The friends decided to renew their meetings annually to exchange views. The society was, however only definitely formed in 1762 by Dr. Hans Caspar Hirzel. The original aim of the society then formed was the study of Swiss history with the broader aim of turning this study to public advantage. This programme was, however, rapidly enlarged as new members came, until it embraced the consideration of any project of national utility.

P. 19, line 12. *Pflanzschule:* Corresponded in Switzerland to the German *Philanthropin.* (See note to p. 13, line 16).

P. 35, lines 23 and 28. *The Memorial of Stäfa, the Stäfnerhandel:* The French Revolution gave rise to movements of liberation in Switzerland as elsewhere, those along the Lake of Zurich in Stäfa and its environs (1794/95) among others. Eminent inhabitants of the villages united to claim greater freedom from the town authorities in a Memorial, which was drawn up on the basis of their ancient rights. The authorities, however, regarded this step as revolutionary, instituted a military occupation of the town and sentenced the originators of the movement to heavy punishment by fine and imprisonment. The revolution of three years later restored the prisoners to freedom.

P. 36, line 16. *Legrand of Basle:* At that time, engaged in industry, later a member of the Directory of the Helvetian United State. (See below.)

P. 37, line 5. *Hintersässenschule:* The *Hintersässen* were recently settled inhabitants of town or country communities in contrast with old established citizens. As they had not the right to send their children to the *Bürgerschule*, which was only for the latter, they had a school of their own, the *Hintersässenschule*.

P. 38, line 24, p. 39, line 9, pl. 53—59. *Helvetik, Consulta, Mediationsakte:* In 1798, when the old Confederation collapsed in face of the French invasion, the French set up, in place of the previous union of states, a Helvetian Republic, one and indivisible. The new constitution, however, led to bitter constitutional struggles between the adherents of the old constitution, the Federalists, and those of the new, the Unionists. To put an end to these disputes, Napoleon, the First Consul of the French Republic called delegates from the Cantons to a *Consulta* in Paris, and directed them to work out a new form of government which replaced the united state by a union of states with certain central organisations. (*Mediationsakte.*) Thus the period of the *Helvetik* (1798—1803) was followed by that of the *Mediation* (1803—1815) till, at the Congress of Vienna, Switzerland received yet another constitution.

P. 39, line 29, pl. 164. The following is a brief summary of Pestalozzi's method.

The central point of his religious, political, and pedagogic ideas is the doctrine of parent and child. The first introduction of the child into the world is the work of the mother. It then passes under paternal authority, incorporated in the teacher, the ruler, and God. The essence of the education carried out by the teacher consists in the development of the natural potentialities of the child. So far as the child develops natural subjective tendencies, the chief point is spontaneity; so far as it assimilates the objective world, the faculty of observation. From the equal training of both functions, there results the "harmony of powers".

Pl. 41. *Hofwil:* Fellenberg had created a series of institutes on the Hofwil estate, in which he combined theoretical with practical instruction. These were, a school for the poor, an agricultural school, workshops for the manufacture of agricultural machines, and a college for higher education.

Pl. 92. *Sängervater:* Nägeli was given this title as being the founder of the first choral societies in Switzerland.

Pl. 101. *Tagsatzung:* The Federal Diet. This was a meeting of delegates from the Cantons to discuss questions of general import. Its decisions had no binding force, being agreements between the cantonal delegates subject to approval by the Cantons themselves.

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Basle: Public Art Gallery
Berne: Swiss *Landesbibliothek*
Bonn: Beethoven Museum
Burgdorf: *Rittersaalverein*
Frankfort on M.: Goethe Museum
Idstein: *Altertumsmuseum*
Madrid: *Academia de San Fernando*
Paris: *Bibliothèque nationale*
Vienna: *Nationalbibliothek*
Weimar: National Goethe Museum

Wettingen: Seminary
Zurich: *Fröbelstübli*
» Gottfried Keller Foundation
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» *Kunsthaus*
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» *Staatsarchiv*
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